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HISTORY
OF THE
CHURCH OF CHRIST,
FROM
THE DIET OF AUGSBURG 1530,
TO
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

ORIGINALLY DESIGNED AS A CONTINUATION OF MILNER'S HISTORY.

BY
HENRY STEBBING, D.D.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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CENTURY XVI.—XVII.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST, FROM THE DIET OF AUGSBURG.

CHAP. I.

STATE OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES—DIVISIONS AND CONTROVERSIES—MELANCTHON.

A NEW era is dawning upon us in the history of the Church of Christ. The period described in the preceding volumes, was chiefly remarkable for the open conflict of antient authority, with the roused and indignant spirits which its fearful abuses had so long oppressed. We should be falling into a common error were we to conclude, because the parties most conspicuously opposed to each other during the struggle, did, after a certain time, retreat to distant parts of the field, that, therefore, the conflict was at an end, or that either party could fairly lay claim to the victory. Advantages were gained on both sides; and sufficient to inspire the leaders on each to look forward to a renewal of the warfare at some distant period. These advantages consisted, on the one part, in the successful defence of a power, and of pretensions, which seemed scarcely able to resist the awakening of general intelligence; and, on the other, in the assertion of an independence, and the establishment of principles of which mankind had scarcely dreamed since the earliest ages of Christian truth. If indeed we were to consider the former party as possessing an inalienable right to the authority which it had

hitherto exercised, the late contest had been productive of the most injurious consequences; but viewing it in the character of a usurping power, or of one tottering to its fall, the issue of the struggle amounted even to brilliant success, for notwithstanding the inroads made upon its territory, it still possessed a dominion sufficiently extensive to satisfy the most ambitious of potentates.

That there was only a pause in the conflict, and not that the struggle was at an end, is a consideration to be kept in mind throughout the perusal of the following narrative. The development of many important doctrines and theories was dependent upon this state of affairs. Some of the most interesting circumstances in the later history of the Church are only to be accounted for by a reference to this fact, and though it will not be always necessary to bring it prominently forward, its being borne in mind will generally add force and clearness to the detail.

It was the grand object of the Reformation to purify the religious system, which millions acknowledge to be the gift of God, from the corruptions which time, and human ambition, and the host of selfish passions attendant thereon, had gradually introduced. But these corruptions admit of being considered under a twofold character. There were those which belonged to the mere government of the Church, and those which more immediately respected the truths which it was instituted to promulge. We are to look then, in the times now to be contemplated, for a juster species of ecclesiastical rule; for authority exercised upon maxims more accordant with the spirit of the gospel; for doctrines set free from the alloy of human conceits, and examples of holiness founded on the sure foundation of godly wisdom.

But not forgetting that the excitement attending the Reformation had its share of salutary influence on the opposite party, it will become us to trace with candour the indications of spiritual mindedness, and of an earnest zeal to promote the glory of God, found in numerous individual members of the Church which we have seen exposed to such a mighty onset of collected learning, wisdom, and holiness. Collecting in this manner, the

proofs of increasing light and grace, wherever they are to be discovered, we shall have abundant reason to rejoice at the results of the revolution just accomplished. But while thus looking with thankful delight upon the manifestations of divine power, the gratification belonging to such a spectacle must not prevent our scanning the opposite side of the picture. There, unhappily, we shall see too clearly portrayed awful scenes of folly and inconsistency; melancholy examples of human weakness and corruption, to demonstrate, beyond contradiction, the inadequacy of either rules or systems, or even the full freedom to employ all the means of grace, to complete the emancipation of mankind from sin and ignorance.

In order to accomplish the design thus alluded to, we shall have to trace the progress of opinions rather than of events. At the period when the Diet of Augsburg was held, truth had its broad, bold statements to make in the face of a host of enemies haughty and uncompromising. Others but accidentally connected with these foremost defenders of error were gradually drawn in to support the same cause; and the champions of the pure gospel had thus to meet an army, the ranks of which extended in length and depth to the extreme borders of Christendom. There was little time left in the conduct of such a battle for the development of the principles asserted, for proving by their effects how sound or valuable they were, or what was to be expected from them when they should no longer be employed as a war-cry, but should begin to operate tranquilly in men's minds, left at liberty to obey their convictions, or the higher influences of Heaven. The period, therefore, which has been just described, was eminently one of action and events, and the conduct of public men necessarily demanded our chief attention. Now, on the other hand, we have to contemplate the important consequences of the struggle, and to show how the two great parties themselves, and those to which they gave rise, proceeded to unfold their several designs.

The state of the Lutheran Church was at this time but little encouraging to the friends of peace and order.

Luther had clearly foreseen the agitations which would follow his decease. Whatever the ardour of his friendship for Melancthon, or the veneration in which he held his piety and genius, he well knew his unfitness to stand at the head of a party, or perform the tasks for the execution of which no qualities were more needed than fortitude and determined resolution. Nor was he less acquainted with the feelings of the men who, most active in their opposition to Rome, were, by disposition originally, and now still more so by habit, ready to delight in any species of agitation, and, therefore, as likely to rise against the final settlement of a reformed Church, on any fair and proper foundation, as they had previously been to resist the tyranny of the Popes.

Scarcely was Luther dead* when all these anticipated causes of disturbance came into full play. Melancthon's mind was as capacious as his spirit was catholic. He had present to his thoughts whatever learning as well as divine charity could suggest in favour of tolerance and mutual forbearance. Had he been able to make his associates understand, not only the force but the connexion of his arguments,—their general relation, that is, to evangelical truth, in its largest and broadest acceptation, as well as their present expediency, he might have exercised a most profitable influence over their minds. But while some acknowledged their value in the latter sense only, others restricted their admiration of them to the former; and the violent pressure of outward circumstances soon drove both parties far beyond the reach of his admonitions.

Whatever there was of bitterness in the disposition of those preparing for fresh controversy, it received no small accession of virulence from the general state of affairs. The main question respecting the ordinary

* Luther had been regarded by many with a false and extravagant veneration; some had even attached to his name a more than mortal honour. By such persons he was called, "the man of God;" "the new Elias;" "the last prophet, appearing at the end of the world." When he died, it is said, it seemed as if an oracle had suddenly become dumb, or that his scholars were deprived of what was most necessary to their instruction and advancement.—Henke, t. iii., p. 405.

rights of conscience had been well nigh settled; but while documents now existed, which proved that neither states, nor churches, could any more resist the imperative demands of common sense and justice, the minor attempts of persecution were being perpetually renewed; and the theologian went to his logic and his Bible with a burning and a throbbing heart, dreading or already suffering from the acts of a petty tyrant.

The treaty of 1555 seemed to promise many years of tranquillity. But such pacifications can, at best, only damp for the moment the fires of religious hatred. It is rarely they are extinguished. For the most part, they waste themselves and go out, like every other passion not proper to the ordinary condition of the human mind. In the present case they shot up from time to time into a broader glare, and the controversy between one petty state and another,—between the prince and the people, or one section of the people and another section, frequently assumed as fierce a character as the grand conflict itself between Rome and the whole mighty assemblage of those who dared to resist its power.

It was with scarcely the shadow of good feeling that the Emperor Ferdinand had assented to any of those measures which secured the dissenters from the Roman Church in the possession of their rights, either as citizens or Christians. That he was thus backward to accord what seemed fairly demanded of the temporal ruler by every principle of social equity, must not be too hastily attributed to religious severity or bigoted zeal. Ferdinand saw plainly how much was to be dreaded from the unsettled spirit of those who most eagerly demanded the boon, dear to every enlightened mind, but sought with no less passion by those who, the instant it is gained, only use it to their own ruin, and the discomfiture of truth and holiness. It was his duty, as a wise governor, to take notice of all those signs of the times which might in any degree lead him to a course, terminating in the prospect of more settled feelings. Let this be allowed, and it will tend partially to counterbalance the more painful impressions which

are left by the view of Ferdinand's character in the conduct of religious affairs. That he was inclined, by an unjust preponderance of feeling, to defend the rights of the one party rather than those of the other, appears plain from the whole tenor of the history of these times. He deserves whatever censure posterity can heap upon the memory of rulers guilty of such offences. But he was a man of more generosity,—of better temper, and we shall not be wrong, perhaps, if we add, of a far more Christian spirit than his brother. His line of policy was marked out for him by his fears as a prince,—by his deep anxiety for the tranquillity of his dominions, as well as by his zeal for the faith which he professed, and the communion to which he belonged.

Germany, but a short period before happy in the prospect of continued peace, was now torn by the ruinous dissensions of its rulers. The weak, oppressed by the powerful, were anxiously seeking distant alliances; while the powerful found new food for ambition in the forfeitures of states and offices demanded of those who preferred their religion to their dignities. The Duke of Ortenburg, deprived of his dominions by the Archduke of Bavaria, and Donauwerth, with its dependencies, furnish memorable instances of this fact. Nor was it on the side of the Roman Catholics only that proofs occurred of the angry and persecuting spirit of the age. The reformers were complained of in language no less bitter, and with accumulated accusations of oppressive conduct. The exactness of such complaints, on either side, may be well disputed; but there is ample reason to believe that no slight portion of what was said had its origin in truth; and that religion was now repeatedly made use of for the purpose of veiling worldly ambition or private enmity.

The conflict thus carried on between the two parties had but few and uncertain intermissions; still a fair prospect of peace was given by the determinations of the Diet of Augsburg in 1555. Scarcely, however, had four years passed away, when in the Diet, held at the same place, the reformers and their opponents heaped such accusations on each other that it evidently only

wanted the aid of some powerful arm, on either side, to excite again all the evils of war. Unhappily for mankind, it rarely happens that, when parties are enraged against each other, they have long to wait for leaders.

A slight review of the state of affairs, as determined by the peace of Augsburg, will show how many causes there were to foment the jealousy then existing. The reformers had obtained at the hand of the Emperor a legitimate right to the profession, and exercise of their religion. This grant, however, was sternly resisted by the ecclesiastical dignitaries on the other side, and it was even disputed whether the Prince had either the right, or the power, to accord such a liberty. As it was, the favour bestowed was rather yielded to the demands of the confederate sovereigns, who agreed in the evangelical confession, than granted as a boon to the body at large who professed the reformed faith. By the main article of the treaty, each independent prince was allowed to establish in his dominions whatever religion he pleased; and the only liberty granted his subjects, not professing the same doctrines, was to leave the territory, and seek a country where their faith was established.

The division of the property belonging to the Church had, from the first, been a fruitful cause of dispute. Neither Luther, nor his followers, had contemplated the establishment of their principles without those adjuncts of a system through which alone they could look for their permanence, or general utility. They had, therefore, in the earliest stages of their success, gladly accepted whatever revenues, or other ecclesiastical property, their temporal rulers saw fit to place at their disposal. No contemptible degree of wealth had thus passed into the hands of the reformers; nor is it to be supposed that they held it with a loose or careless grasp. Some there doubtless were who valued it for its own sake, and struggled to retain it with all the selfish vigour which belongs to such a feeling. But the majority may be supposed to have acted from the better principle of zeal for the interests of their faith, and to have felt

themselves bound to lay hold of every opportunity, and to employ every available means, that might be presented for the furtherance of their ultimate object. The tenacity, therefore, with which they retained the possessions that had fallen to their lot, left no hope to the Roman Catholic clergy of recovering what had been thus cut off from their antient heritage. There was, on the contrary, every reason to dread that the work of spoliation, as they accounted it, would be carried on to a far greater extent. Not a year passed without giving fresh proofs of the intimate connection that existed between the zeal of Protestant subjects, and the ambition or rapacity of Protestant princes. The diffusion of the reformed doctrines was every where attended with the secularizing of more or less of Church property. Political power, and station, whatever, in short, might be regarded by worldly men as things most valuable for their own sake, or by those who aspired to a reputation for religion, as most useful in the prosecution of its interests, furnished now a cause for strife which the most unspiritual minds might comprehend, and the most earthly of passions contemplate as sufficient to engage them unceasingly in the contest.

Never, apparently, was there a state of things more unfavourable to the advancement of religion. Many of the chiefs of the Lutheran party had been converted into politicians, warriors, persecutors. Their followers could hardly fail to imbibe somewhat of the spirit by which they were instigated. Truth itself was thus exposed to grievous injury. They had risen in defence of the gospel. The gospel was preached among them. Their thoughts and opinions were couched in the language of evangelical fervour, and they still claimed credit for being the foes of whatever stood opposed to pure religion. The leaders of the Roman Catholics, and the large body of people who increased in zeal for their faith, the greater the dangers by which it was surrounded, pointed triumphantly to every act committed on the side of the Protestants, that violated peace or charity; and it was argued, though by a species of logic which might at all times have been turned with far

greater force against their own Church, that that system of doctrine was little likely to have truth for its basis, which had so slight a hold on the consciences of its professors.

Nor was this the only source of evil. The differences between the Protestants themselves were every day augmenting. No church, or sect, has ever bound the consciences of its members by a sterner law than that of the Augsburg confession. This strictness of the dogmatic rule, in the Lutheran Church, was an immediate result of the personal character and views of its founder. One of its most conspicuous effects was the production of feelings, uncompromising as his own, in a large proportion of those who embraced his tenets. But though this was the case with a considerable number of the reformers, it was not so with all. There were many who soon began to revert to principles which had a longer growth in their minds than those of Luther. He first brought them within the reach of influences proper to the development of that desire of knowledge and freedom, which made them his partizans. But glad and animating as was the feeling which filled their minds in the early stages of the Reformation, and grateful as they could not but be for the victory achieved under the guidance of their great master, no sooner was the surprise that so much had been done, passed away, than they began to feel the weight and pressure of the armour, defended by which they had gained the victory. The confession of faith; the rules of discipline; the rites and orders which characterized the Church to which they had newly joined themselves, left them, it was seen, less at liberty than might have been expected. They were yet far from being entirely free to judge for themselves, to add to or abridge the articles of faith, as it might seem best to their own individual convictions. This discovery, slow and gradual with many, with some, perhaps, almost instantaneous, produced a long train of anxious and painful thoughts. Of the numbers thus affected, one part satisfied themselves with proposing modifications of the articles received in their Church, while others looked around to see if there were no band

of believers to whom they might join themselves, in the hope of enjoying greater freedom of thought, or a fuller prospect of the wide empire of pure, unconfined, undebased truth.

Though disappointment only could attend those who had formed, in the first place, a most erroneous estimate of their own powers and sincerity, and, in the next, an equally false notion of the state of other religious bodies, there were, at the present moment, a sufficient number of divisions and subdivisions among the reformers, to render it an easy matter for minds of almost any class, to find sympathizing associates, and a sect ready to hail them as sincere converts to the truth.

In the cantons of Switzerland, in France, in Geneva, the gospel had been preached with a success which demonstrated by numerous happy examples the converting power of its doctrines. Churches had been established, or congregations formed, in which the utmost solicitude was shown for the permanent administration of all the means of grace to those who had been, or should hereafter be, roused to a sense of their lost condition. A comparative degree of union existed among the reformers in these countries; but scarcely had the doctrines of Zuinglius or Calvin been made known in Germany, when an excitement began to manifest itself, which threatened the Lutheran Church with long and fearful troubles. For some time the influence of the foreign reformers was unrecognized by those who were most anxious to preserve the unity of the Church newly established among them. Cryptocalvinism, or the doctrines of the Genevese theologians, concealed with the caution which the severe character of the Lutheran doctors rendered necessary, existed in Germany before any apprehensions were entertained of the disorders which it was so soon to excite.

It would be an unprofitable labour to trace minutely the progress of a controversy which each party saw sufficient cause to lament, and the subjects of which, however important in the sight of those by whom it was commenced, had little relation to the infinitely important interests connected with the dispute between Luther

and Rome. The first appearance of Calvinism among the reformers of Germany was met, on the part of the princes, with the most decided opposition. No tolerance was to be allowed to the further action of a principle, resistance to which was, in fact, the head and front of Rome's own offence. German potentates thought themselves justified in persecuting for Luther's sake, while they heaped measureless obloquy on the head of the Pope for defending the patrimony of St. Peter. Such inconsistencies are, perhaps, inseparable from the imbecility and selfishness of human reason. They may even, it is possible, find virtuous and ingenious apologists; but it is not for the historian to pass them over unnoticed, or to sacrifice to the dread of unfair inferences one of the most striking features of the times he is describing.

The injury which the cause of reform suffered from these disputes was quickly apparent. While the very men who claimed exemption from the tyranny of Rome were employing against each other the better portion of their strength, the common enemy not only looked on, and rejoiced, but busily employed himself in erecting defences against a power which had otherwise soon left him without further resources. The lamentable consequences of such a strife at length compelled the wiser men on each side to propose terms of peace. A meeting between the representatives of the two parties took place at Torgau in 1576. It was attended by several eminent divines, and a new abstract of doctrine was offered to their consideration, with a favourable prospect of its leading to a permanent reconciliation. In the early part of the following summer, they met in the town of Torgau, when the terms of agreement were embodied in a concordate, and published by the authority of several of the Lutheran princes.

It was to Jacob Andrea, chancellor of Tübingen, and the celebrated theologian, Martin Chemnitz, that the praise belonged of originating this design. Some attempt was made to bring it into action as early as the year 1569; but it was not till more than five years after that the formulæ, on which the reconciliation had to rest, was presented to the heads of the two parties. This

took place in the monastery of Maulbrun, and the preparation was thus made for the more solemn meeting of the deputies at Torgau. As many as fifty-three princes and thirty-five cities agreed, in the course of a few years, to accept the Concordate, and hopes were reasonably entertained, that a permanent defence had been raised against the evils which threatened the reformers of Germany with the speedy dissolution of their body.*

This celebrated formulary consists of two parts, the former entitled 'Epitome,' and the latter 'Solida Declaratio.' In the eleven articles which stand at the head of the work, a full account is given of the view entertained by its authors, and those by whom they were employed, on the important subjects of original sin; of free-will; of the righteousness of faith; of good works; of the law and the gospel; of the three uses of the law; of the Lord's Supper; of the person of Christ; of his descent into hell; of church rites which are termed *Adiaphora*, or things indifferent; and of the external fore-knowledge and choice of God. Appended to the statement of doctrine on these several topics, are the arguments commonly employed against the sects which had sprung up since the commencement of the Reformation, and which continued to resist, with an uncompromising determination, the members of the Augsburg confession.

A further development of the creed exhibited in the Concordate, is found in the 'Declaration' which forms the second part of the work. Somewhat of an apology is here introduced for the publication of what might be regarded by many as a new form of belief. To such it is answered, that no novelty is admitted into the system of doctrine originally proposed to the Reformed Church; and that the only object of the formulary is the suppression of errors introduced during the late controversies. As an instance of this, reference is made to the heresy supported by the learned Flacius.† This distinguished

* Guerike: *Christliche Symbolik*, p. 85. Schröckh, t. iv. p. 580-631. Planck, l. c. p. 522-546.

† He was professor of Hebrew at Wittenberg till the year 1549, when he left that university.

theologian had been gradually involved in a dispute which drove him at last, to seek refuge in an assertion considered more characteristic of despair than of knowledge or discretion. Sin, he contended, is not an accident in the present state of human nature, but a quality of its very essence. Either too deeply enamoured of his opinion, or too jealous of his reputation, to withdraw from this position, he continued to argue upon the subject, till he became involved in a labyrinth of difficulties, in the treatment of each of which there was some fresh temptation to overstep the line of Christian simplicity. Anxious to silence for ever the presumptuous claims of human merit, he trembled, lest by allowing that original sin was an accident only in the constitution of our nature, no answer could then be given to the assertion, that man was not so altogether lost and abandoned, or incapable of taking some part in his own conversion, as the evangelical believer has been ever foremost to contend. Melancthon's sentiments had, at least, been greatly modified in respect to this subject. This might be successfully urged by those who sought an apology for the eager spirit with which they pursued the controversy. The first to follow the example of Melancthon,* was John Pfeffinger, who, in a dissertation on free-will, strongly advocated the opinions started by his master. It required less provocation than that furnished by Pfeffinger's essay to excite the zeal of those who adhered to the old, stern spirit of the Lutheran creed. Amsdorf assailed the author with force and earnestness. Two new parties were thus created, and men of piety grieved to hear of Lutherans and Melancthonians, and to find

* Corpus Doct. Christ. De libero Arbitrio, 1565, p. 342.

Melancthon was himself cautious to separate the evangelical view of doctrine, from the notions generated by philosophical speculation, but in this he was badly imitated by others engaged in the controversy. "*Nec miscenda est, disputatio de determinatione divina, questioni de libero arbitrio. Nam cum de voluntate hominis et de ceteris humanis viribus quæritur, tantum de humana infirmitate disseritur, non de omnibus motibus in tota natura. . . . Hanc doctrinam de nostris morbis proponit Ecclesia, non ut stoicas opiniones seriat, non ut mentes implicet perplexis et inextricabilibus disputationibus, sed ut monstret nobis beneficia Filii Dei, qui missus est ut destruat opera diaboli, qui triste vulnus fecit in humana natura.*"—Corpus Doct. Christ. Lipsiæ, 1565. p. 342.

the vocabulary of theologians increased by the barbarous terms of Synergism and Strigelism.

The former of these was invented to describe the views of Melancthon and his followers; the latter was derived from the name of the most distinguished of the divines who engaged in the dispute. Victorin Strigel had obtained considerable reputation, by a series of lectures which he delivered at Jena, on Melancthon's elements. But they exhibited the most marked opposition to the original tenets of the Lutheran Church. He thus became more conspicuous in the controversy than any previous writer who had espoused similar views. Both parties seemed every day to gather fresh fuel for wrath. At length the civil power interfered. The leaders were threatened with imprisonment or exile, and the Lutherans on comparing their state with that of their opponents had every reason to consider themselves the victors.

It was at this period in the controversy, and when hopes were generally entertained that it would soon cease to be heard of, that Flacius presented himself, and again involved the religious portion of his countrymen in doubt and apprehension. His banishment was the first remedy tried for the cure of the disorders created by the controversy; but his death, which occurred in 1575, afforded another proof of the fact, so frequently exhibited in the history of religious disputes, that the most violent of controversies often depend almost entirely on the stimulants which belong only to a single mind.

But the difference of opinion which prevailed on the points of doctrine thus agitated, even when it no longer continued to agitate the minds of men with fierce and rancorous hostility, was far from ceasing to exist. Though less heard of in schools of theology, it might be traced in books and sermons, the main subjects of which had little immediate connection with such a topic. Some loss of confidence, and not unfrequently a diminution of affection, and mutual esteem between the clergy themselves, or the pastor and his flock must have been the consequence of this state of things, and hence the rise of numberless evils, all of which tended to weaken the re-

ligious character, or to prepare the way for the novelties of scepticism, on the one side, and those of fanaticism on the other.

The controversy respecting free will was not the only one which agitated the reformed Churches at this period. A variety of opinions still prevailed on the Lord's Supper. Melancthon's influence had been long exerted in an endeavour to soften the asperity of those most opposed, and to bring into brotherly union those whose differences appeared to him to depend only on verbal niceties, or obscurities. To this he was encouraged by the evident tendency of some of the Swiss divines, and especially of Calvin, to speak of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and of Luther's views on the subject, with more caution than in the days of Zuingle. Calvin and Melancthon were sufficient to sway the temper, as well as the opinions, of a vast body of their cotemporaries. They had, moreover, a sincere and brotherly affection for each other, and were equally convinced of the importance of treating the subject of the sacrament with caution and reverence. But their influence did not extend to those who combined with their own personal convictions the strong feelings that belong to the undying recollections which embalm the names of our first masters in Christ. What Luther and Zuingle had taught were, to many such men, dearer than their lives. The doctrines they had received from their lips, or to which they had given the solemn assent of repeated church confessions, were not to be shaken, or modified, by the pretended necessity of explaining their notions in a sense less extreme than that which they originally bore. Thus a zeal, passionate and persevering, was excited among the adherents to the early confessions. Whatever had been produced, as the first fruits of the Reformation, seemed to possess a beauty and a virtue more precious than any of a later growth. It was almost impossible that such a feeling should not lead to a weakening of the distinctions between human comments, or opinions, and even individual notions, and the supreme authority of scripture. The passage from a constant appeal to some few commentators on Divine

truth, as illustrating that truth, to that of regarding those writers as independent authorities, is easy and frequent. It is a matter of little surprise that this was the case with many of the followers of Luther, and that they learnt to use his name, and to rest on his incidental statements of opinion, with almost the same confidence which they had, at the first, allowed only to the distinct language of the Bible. Thus each party had its own particular temptation: the older reformers that above alluded to; the adherents to the Protestant cause, who thought more of liberty than religion, the thousand allurements to doubt, and curious and profitless inquiry, which commonly end in a wretched, though, perhaps, concealed infidelity.

Melancthon anxiously strove to silence, by a species of compromise, the disputes existing on the Eucharist. He was willing to drop expressions, in the definition of doctrine, which did not seem to him absolutely necessary to convey the simple scriptural truth.* The danger of

* Guerike, t. ii., p. 1021. Thus in his edition of the Confession, published in 1540, instead of the words "*Quod corpus et sanguis Domini (sub specie panis et vini) vere adsint et distribuuntur vescentibus in Cœna Domini, et improbant secus docentes,*" he inserted merely, "*Quod cum pane et vino vere exhibeantur corpus et sanguis Christi vescentibus in Cœna Domini.*" Calvin's doctrine is plainly stated in the following passage:—

Horum omnium adeo solidam habemus testificationem in hoc sacramento, ut certo statuendum sit, vere nobis exhiberi non secus, acsi Christus ipse præsens aspecti nostro objiceretur, ac manibus attraheretur. Hoc enim verbum nec mentiri nec illudere nobis potest, accipite, edite, bibite, hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis traditur: hic est sanguis, qui in remissionem peccatorum effunditur. Quod accipere jubet, significat nostrum esse; quod odere jubet, significat unam nobiscum substantiam fieri: quod de corpore prædicat pro nobis esse traditum, de sanguine pro nobis effusum, in eo docet utrumque non tam suum esse quam nostrum: quia utrumque non suo commodo, sed in salutem nostram et sumpsit et posuit. Ac diligenter quidem observandum est, potissimam et pœne totam sacramenti energiam in his verbis sitam esse, quod pro vobis traditur, qui pro vobis effunditur: alioqui non magnopere nobis conducere, corpus et sanguinem Domini nunc distribui, nisi in redemptionem ac salutem nostram exposita semel fuissent. Itaque sub pane et vino representantur, quo discamus, non modo nostra esse, sed nobis destinata in spiritualis vitæ alimentum. Id est quod antea admonuimus, a rebus corporeis, quæ in sacramento proferuntur, quadam analogia nos ad spirituales deduci. Sic quum panis nobis in solum corpus Christi datur, hæc statim concipienda est similitudo, ut corporis nostri vitam panis alit, sustinet, tuetur: ita corpus Christi vegetandæ ac vivificandæ animæ unicum esse cibum. Quum vinum in solum sanguinis propositum intuemur, cogitandum quos corpori usus vinum afferat, ut eosdem spiritualiter afferri nobis Christi sanguine reputemus; sunt autem, fovere, reficere, confirmare, exhilarare. Nam si satis perpendimus, quid nobis sacrosancti hujus corporis traditio, quid sanguinis effusio profuerit, non obscure perspi-

such a disposition will be apprehended according to the proportions in which the love of peace, or the clear, acute sense of distinctions in spiritual things, operates on our

ciemus, hæc panis et vini attributa, secundum ejusmodi analogiam, optime illis erga nos convenire, dum nobis communicantur.

Porro nobis hic duo cavenda sunt vitia: ne aut in extenuandis signis nimii, a suis mysteriis ea divellere, quibus quodammodo annexa sunt, aut in iisdem extollendis immodici, mysteria interim etiam ipsa nonnihil obscurare videamur. Christum esse panem vitæ, quo in salutem æternam nutriantur fideles, nemo est nisi prorsus irreligiosus, qui non fateatur. Sed hoc non perinde inter omnes convenit, qualis sit ejus participandi ratio. Sunt enim, qui manducare Christi carnem, et sanguinem ejus bibere, uno verbo definiunt, nihil esse aliud, quam in Christum ipsum credere. Sed mihi expressius quiddam ac sublimius videtur voluisse docere Christus in præclara illa concione, ubi carnis suæ manducationem nobis commendat: nempe vera sui participatione nos vivificari, quam manducandi etiam ac bibendi verbis ideo designavit, ne, quam ab ipso vitam percipimus, simplici cognitione percipi quispiam putaret. Quemadmodum enim non aspectus, sed ejus panis corporis alimentum sufficit, ita vere ac penitus participem Christi animam fieri convenit, ut ipsius virtute in vitam spiritualem vegetetur. Interim vero hanc non aliam esse, quam fidei manducationem fatemur, ut nulla alia fingi potest. Verum hoc inter mea et istorum verba interest, quod illis manducare est duntaxat credere: ego credendo manducari Christi carnem, quia fide noster efficitur, eamque manducationem fructum effectumque esse fidei dico. Aut si clarius velis, illis manducatio est fides: mihi ex fide potius consequi videtur. In verbis quidem parvum, sed in re non mediocre est discrimen. Nam etiam docet Apostolus, Christum in cordibus nostris habitare per fidem (Eph. iii. 17), nemo tamen habitationem istam fidem interpretabitur: sed exitium fidei effectum explicari omnes sentiunt, quod per ipsam fideles consequuntur, ut Christum in se habiant manentem. In hunc modum voluit Dominus, panem vitæ se nuncupando, non tantum docere, in mortis resurrectionisque suæ fide repositam esse nobis salutem: sed vera etiam sui communicatione fieri, ut vita sua in nos transeat ac nostra fiat; non secus ac panis, dum in alimentum sumitur, vigorem corpori administrat.

Nec alio sensu Augustinus, quem illi patronum sibi advocat, credendo nos manducare scripsit, quam ut manducationem istam fidei esse, non oris indicaret. Quod neque ipse nego; sed simul tamen addo, nos fide complecti Christum non minus apparentem, sed re nobis eminentem, ut ipse caput nostrum, nos vero ejus membra simus. Neque tamen locutionem illam simplicitur improbo: sed tantum nego, plenam esse interpretationem, si definire volunt, quid sit Christi carnem edere. Alioqui video Augustinum hac loquendi forma sæpius usum esse, ut quum dicit libro de doctrina Christiani: "Nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis: figura est percipiens passioni Domini esse communicandum et suaviter atque utiliter recondendum in memoria, quod pro nobis caro ejus crucifixa et vulnerata sit." Item quum dicit, tria illa millia hominum, qui Petri concione conversi sunt (Act ii. 41) sanguinem Christi, quem sæviendo fuderant, credendo bibisse. Verum plurimis aliis locis illud fidei beneficium egregie commendat, quod per ipsam non minus reficiuntur carnis Christi communione animæ nostræ, quam corpora pane, quo vescuntur. Atque id ipsum est, quod alibi scribit Chrysostomus, Christum non fide tantum, sed re ipsa nos suum efficere corpus. Neque enim aliunde, quam a fide tale bonum consequi intelligit: sed hoc tantum vult excludere, ne quis, dum fidem nominari audit, nudam imaginationem concipiat. Eos vero, qui cœnam volunt externæ solum professionis notam esse, nunc prætereo, quia satis eorum errorem refutasse mihi videor, quum agerem de Sacramentis in genere (cap. 14, sect. 13). Hoc solum observent lectores, dum calix vocatur fœdus in sanguine (Luc. 22, 20), promis-

minds. That he opened the way to many speculatists, encouraged others to content themselves with the rough outline of a creed agreeable to, because nearest the limits of, human reason ; and delighted a third class with the flattering notion that they were filled with the love of charity and Christ, seeing that they were ready to sacrifice a portion of their former tenets to the prejudices of their neighbours, seems fairly deducible from the general tenor of his history. But if this must be allowed, so also is there good reason to believe, that he effected an important improvement in the temper of parties, and that many were taught by his example, or persuaded by his eloquence, to cease from disputes in which they had engaged rather from pride, or other inferior motives, than from any which properly belonged to the interests of conscience.

The Concordium signed at Wittemberg, in 1536, procured but a short and delusive peace. However sincere the Lutherans, the opposite party had yielded only to the pressure of the moment. The former were stern and unbending ; the latter were not less attached to their tenets ; when they submitted, therefore, it was but for the preservation of their common rights. When Luther found himself, in 1544, drawing to the close of his career, he again, after a long silence, spoke upon the subject. It was observable that, though no less earnest than formerly in the statement of his doctrine, he had lost much of the angry feeling which characterized his earlier tone of speaking, and that time and experience had evidently softened him. Melancthon's opinions had never, it is probable, any effect upon the doctrines of Luther ; but they exercised, there can be little doubt, no slight influence over his feelings. It could not be concealed from him, that there was a gradual tendency in the mind of that eminent man to favour the system adopted by the Swiss divines. The proceedings which took place, at an early period, when the controversy was entirely with the Roman Catholics, were alike charac-

sionem exprimi, quæ ad fidem confirmandam valeat. Unde sequitur, nisi in Deum respicimus et amplectimur, quod offert, nos sacra cœna recte non uti. —Inst. lib. iv. c. xvii. sec. 3-6.

terized, on the part of Melancthon, by an effort to soften its bitterness, and by mutual concessions to establish permanent good will. We have seen with what anxiety Luther watched these signs of his friend's yielding and forbearing mind. He found it necessary to employ the whole strength of his own resolution to prevent the quiet spirit thus at work from giving up much that he had perilled his life to secure. It was a danger of a different kind that presented itself to his thoughts, when he saw the growing friendship between Melancthon and the disciples of Calvin or Zuingli. The line which separated his own system of doctrines from theirs, was far less broad and distinct than that which ran, like an impassable trench, on the side of his confession, where it lay opposed to Rome. In the latter case, there could be no modifying of his sentiments. He had discovered errors, the magnitude of which grew upon his vision the greater his experience in the gospel of Christ. Nothing could lessen his hostility to Rome,—nothing soften the indignation with which he contemplated its infamous violations of Christian liberty, holiness and truth. He looked back upon the early stages of his career, and recollected how little he had demanded as the price of his return into the bosom of the Papal Church. The continuation of the controversy between him and its advocates was not promoted by any mere theoretical reasoning. It was not the fruit of a proud imagination, or of a bold, acute intellect, delighting to find occasions for exercising its power; but the plain result of a necessity imposed upon his conscience by enlarging views of the gospel. But in the former case, those with whom he disputed were as ardently attached to the cause of Christian holiness as he himself was. They were, at least, not inferior to him in zeal for the Scriptures, and for the general promulgation of the doctrines discovered in their pages. Most of them, moreover, were distinguished for spiritual-mindedness; for the same unselfishness of feeling as appeared in his own temper; and the mighty cause of the Reformation at large, owned, in its progress, the substantial value of their devotion.

Whatever, therefore, might be the anxiety of Luther

to keep his followers from any union with those whose views were different to his own, he could not continue to cherish feelings of hostility towards the Swiss reformers with the same degree of bitterness apparent in his sentiments as formerly expressed. It was a circumstance, moreover, of no slight importance to this desirable change in his temper, that many of those who had adopted the most suspicious of Zuingle's opinions, were now evidently inclined to look with more reverential regard to the sublime mysteries of the Eucharist. From causes of this nature, tranquillity prevailed to a considerable extent, and those who were ready to believe the signs of the times rather than their past experience, trusted that it would be permanent.*

* Cranmer, a few years before this, "propounded," it is said, "a great and weighty business to Melancthon, and a matter that was likely to prove highly useful to all the Churches of the Evangelical profession. It was this. The Archbishop was now driving on a design for the better uniting of all the Protestant Churches; viz. by having one common confession and harmony of faith and doctrine, drawn up out of the pure Word of God, which they might all own and agree in." He had observed what differences there arose, among Protestants, in the doctrine of the sacrament, in the divine decrees; in the government of the Church, and some other things. These disagreements had rendered the professors of the Gospel contemptible to those of the Roman communion, which caused no small grief to the heart of this good man, nearly touched for the honour of Christ, his master, and his true Church, which suffered thereby. And like a person of a truly public and large spirit, as his function was, he seriously debated and deliberated with himself for the remedying this evil. This made him judge it very advisable to procure such a confession. And in order to this, he thought it necessary for the chief and most learned divines of the several churches to meet together, and with all freedom and friendliness to debate the points of controversy, according to the rule of Scripture; and after mature deliberation, by agreement of all parties, to draw up a book of articles and heads of Christian faith and practice, which should serve for the standing doctrine of Protestants.

"As for the place of this assembly, he thought England the fittest in respect of safety, as the affairs of Christendom then stood, and communicating this his purpose to the King, that religious prince was very ready to grant his allowance and protection. And as Helvetia, France and Germany were the chief countries abroad where the gospel was professed, so he sent his letters to the most eminent ministers of each, namely, to Bullinger, Calvin, and Melancthon, disclosing this his pious design to them, and requiring their counsel and furtherance. Melancthon, first of all, came acquainted with it by Justus Jonas, junior, to whom the Archbishop had related the matter at large, and desired him to signify as much in a letter to the said Melancthon, and that it was his request to him to communicate his judgment thereupon. This Jonas did, and Melancthon accordingly wrote to our Archbishop on the calends of May this year, to this purpose,—'That if his judgment and opinion were required, he should be willing both to hear the sense of other learned men, and to speak his own, and to give his reasons,

But, in the year 1552, the controversy was renewed by Joachim Westphal, a preacher at Hamburg, who not only assailed the doctrines of Calvin on the Lord's Supper, but accused several of the Lutheran theologians of secretly propagating them among the people. Albert Hardenberg, on the other side, though professedly a Lutheran, boldly attacked the tenth article of the confession. He was the intimate friend of Melancthon, and his mind had evidently been long decided upon the subject in debate. His associates among the clergy opposed him with untiring zeal. He had, however, many friends among the laity, and the controversy was carried on in a manner which proved the determination of both parties to yield no point in the dispute. Har-

τὰ μὲν πείθων, τὰ δὲ πειθόμενος, persuading and being persuaded, as ought to be in a conference of good men, letting truth, and the glory of God, and the safety of the Church, not any private affection, ever carry away the victory. 'Telling him withal, 'that the more he considered of this his deliberation, than which he thought could be nothing set on foot more weighty and necessary, the more he wished and pressed him to publish such a true and clear confession of the whole body of Christian doctrine, according to the judgment of learned men whose names should be subscribed thereto; that among all nations there might be extant an illustrious testimony of doctrine delivered by grave authority, and that posterity might have a rule to follow.' And he was of opinion that this confession should be much of the nature of their confession of Augsburg, only that some few points of controversy might be in plainer words delivered than was in that. 'That ambiguities might not hereafter occasion new differences. And that in the Church it was best to call a spade a spade, and not to cast ambiguous words before posterity as an apple of contention. And that if in Germany there had been an entire consent of all the churches, they had not fallen into miseries.' And so concludes, earnestly exhorting our prelate to apply himself vigorously in these his pious cares and thoughts for the good estate of the churches.

"Not long after he pursued his first letter with a second, wherein he again reminded our reverend father of that caution, viz. 'That nothing might be left under general terms, but expressed with all the perspicuity and distinctness imaginable;' which I suppose, he said, to meet with the opinion of some, who thought it might be more convenient in order to peace, to suffer more difficult and controverted points to pass under dubious expressions, or in the very words of Scripture, without any particular decisive sense and explanation imposed on them. And concerning this it is probable our Archbishop had desired his opinion. This Melancthon was against, saying, 'that, for his part, he loved not labyrinths, and that therefore all his study was, that whatsoever matters he undertook to treat of, they might appear plain and unfolded. That it was indeed the practice of the Council of Trent, which, therefore, made such crafty decrees, that so they might defend their errors by things ambiguously spoken. But that this sophistry ought to be far from the Church. That there is no absurdity in truth rightly propounded, and that this goodness and perspicuity of things is greatly inviting, wheresoever there be good minds.'—Strype's Memorials, vol. II. b. iii. c. xxiv., sec. 407.

denberg was frequently asked to declare, on oath, his adherence to the Augsburg confession, and the apology.* He answered, "that he could never believe it his duty to make vows on any other book than the Bible, for that alone was without any mixture of error; that when he became a doctor, he promised to abide entirely by the Bible, and the old, true Christian doctrines; that nothing had conduced more to involve the world in error than the ready adoption of mere human compositions, while the Bible itself was left in comparative neglect." To this he added, "that he did not consider that there was any real difference between his own belief and the Augsburg confession, which, in his opinion, had been drawn up as well as the times would permit, but with an evident desire to accommodate its style so as to gain, if possible, the favour of the Emperor and the Pope, or, at least, to avoid increasing their ill will." Melancthon himself, it was said, had acknowledged that it was far from perfect; and the tenth article was especially subject to doubtful interpretation. "If, however," continued Hardenberg, "you will accept that interpretation of the article which is allowed by Melancthon, and the school of Wittemberg, I am at once ready to give my assent to your views."

Hardenberg could have had no expectation that this offer would be accepted. The party opposed to him exhibited, on the contrary, daily a greater determination to persevere in the defence of the old doctrine. Being possessed of the chief authority in the Church, they began to expel the followers of Hardenberg from their offices, and even denied to certain of the preachers a participation of the sacrament. The King of Denmark was applied to, with an earnest request that he would employ his influence and authority to silence the heretics; and the superintendent, Tileman Hesshus, proclaimed aloud from the pulpit, at Bremen, that both Hardenberg and his companions were accursed, and children of the devil.

In this melancholy state of things, the sentiment of brotherly charity could exercise no control. The only remedy for the evil was Hardenberg's expulsion; and to

* Schröckh, t. iv., p. 600.

give an appearance of justice to this proceeding, he was again examined as to the real nature of his doctrines. But his confession still partook largely of what was considered the poison of rationalism. He could only be induced to say, that, though the body of Christ was in heaven, it might, indeed, through the word, and the holy symbols, be present in the sacrament, but not according to place and quantity. In the same manner, he contended that the actual partaking of the body of Christ was confined to believers; whence, it appeared, that he had given up none of the opinions for which he originally incurred the hostility of his colleagues in the ministry. He was, therefore, condemned to banishment; but it was especially understood that this sentence was passed, not in the way of punishment, but purely for the sake of restoring peace, and preventing, as far as possible, the recurrence of the disorders which had now so long prevailed.

Hardenberg found an honourable retreat with the Count of Oldenburg, and continued to preach at Emden till near the period of his death, which happened in 1574. The affairs at Bremen were not much improved by his exile. A temporary tranquillity succeeded his removal, but the principal office in the Church being intrusted to Simon Musæus, a man of violent disposition, measures were introduced for the future government of the clergy, and their congregations, which roused into activity the passions that had hitherto lain dormant in the breasts of many pious and excellent men. An order was published, which, among other instances of oppressive zeal, declared, that whosoever might be suspected of heresy, should immediately suffer the penalty of excommunication.

The severity of this order excited the alarm of the civil magistrates. An effort was made to induce the superintendent to modify his rules; but the preachers, in a body, returned for answer, that this was a most reprehensible and wicked attempt at the destruction of spiritual government, which God would, assuredly, not leave unpunished, nor suffer the magistrates, under pretence of their worldly dignity, to set their feet in the

Church, and prescribe to their teachers what kind of orders they should publish for the government of the congregation.

But notwithstanding the threats and violence exhibited by Musæus and his associates, the magistrates steadily pursued their course, and, after a lengthened struggle, the unbending Lutherans were, in their turn, expelled from Bremen. In their retreat, they published to the world, that the city out of which they had been thus driven, was the very hot-bed of heresy. They succeeded so far in establishing these accusations, that Hamburg and Lubeck refused to consider Bremen any longer as one of their league. A similar feeling was shown by other cities, and the merchants of Bremen saw reason to fear that the persevering enmity of the exiled ministers would soon have the effect of inflicting no less injury on trade and commerce, than it was believed to have done on the interests of religion. The banished theologians were, at length, allowed to return to their homes, but they were refused the use of the pulpits; and it was not till a considerable period had passed away, that the opposite parties began to exhibit again any feeling of brotherly charity.

This is but a single instance of the fearful disputes which succeeded the first age of the Reformation. Such things are the common result, as we have seen, of the excitement belonging to a period remarkable for the recovery of long-forfeited rights. We must endeavour, however, in the history of Christ's Church, to avoid falling into the error, so frequently committed, of imagining, that when we have found a reason to account for the existence of disorders, we have, at the same time, found a fitting apology for their rise. Nothing can be more painful to a Christian mind than the appearance of that spirit of discord which has, in so many cases, disturbed the peace, and endangered the union of God's people. The only consolation which any view of the subject, can suggest, is that which we derive from the assurance, that out of evil the overruling Spirit is able to produce unexpected good, and that even the untoward circumstances which are so greatly lamented, are but the

common proportion of ill attendant even upon events the most beneficial to mankind. It is possible, however, to become too familiar with this species of reasoning, and to commit grave offences thereby against the sober lessons of experience. Arguments have, indeed, been found to excuse haughty and unsettled minds, as under the excitement of novel events, when the character of turbulence was only given to the events by those minds themselves. And there is not unfrequently a trust reposed in the supreme operations of Providence which is the fruit of indolence, or timidity, rather than of faith; and, lastly, there is often a feeling which disposes us to rest satisfied with an inferior portion of good rather than use the necessary exertion to secure a larger, if that further struggle should oblige us, for a time, to forego the immediate enjoyment of what has been already gained: or we are ready to apologize for not attempting the clearing away of the intermixed evil, which might be removed, because we have too readily concluded that the case in which we are concerned is one of those that must be left to the arbitrement of time, and the necessary succession of events.

Errors of this kind are common to those who dwell with ardent minds on the grand periods of change that have generally furthered the cause of truth. They may be supposed to have influenced some of those which exercised a certain degree of control over the events to which we are now alluding. Certain it is, that there were, on the one side, men who seemed to abhor the thought of pausing any where short of universal revolution; and that, on the other, there were those who seemed as anxious now to prevent their fellow-believers from advancing beyond the lines originally traced by Luther, as they were at the beginning to work out his designs, or establish his scriptural and spiritual views.

Melancthon died in the midst of the troubles which many of his associates were inclined to attribute, in no slight degree, to his own want of firmness. He lamented as deeply as Luther the threatening aspect of the times; and no sacrifice could have been demanded

of him, that his love for the gospel, and his fervent affection for his brethren, would not have induced him to render. As his end approached, he spoke more and more openly on this melancholy subject. "I have," said he, "but one care. It is, that the Churches which are in Christ may at length be brought into union." He frequently repeated the prayer of our Lord, "Let them be one in us, as we are one." Just before he breathed his last, whilst listening to the passage, "As many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name," he cried, with uplifted hands and eyes, "Ah! that word is ever in my soul;" and then continued to repeat, as long as his failing strength would allow, "O God! have mercy on me, for the sake of thy Son Jesus Christ! On thee have I trusted, I shall not be put to confusion!" He then fell asleep.* No pain or struggle attended his departure; and labouring, as he had ever done, to diffuse sentiments of peace and love in the Church, he seemed to be rewarded with a signal and most tranquillizing sense of the sufficiency of Divine grace, and of the presence of his Lord, in this last act which he had to perform, depending upon the supports of faith. He had long looked forward to the event with the feelings which might be supposed to occupy the mind of a man devoted for so many years to the contemplation of heavenly mysteries. A few days before his death, he wrote on a sheet of paper, communing with his own soul, "Yes! thou shalt enter into light: thou shalt see God! Thou shalt learn the wonderful mysteries which in this life it was impossible for thee to understand: for example, why thou wast created; and how the union of both natures was effected in Christ." Referring to the struggles and afflictions which had

* His death took place April 19th 1560.

Camerarius says, that when he left him, a few days before his death, great hopes were entertained of his recovery. "*Et ipse cupidum me remanendi diutius reverti domum ad meos jusserat vultu hilari et lætis verbis, quod diceret, proximo mercatu, qui jam appropinquabat, se ad nos venturum. Addens quidem hoc: vel unâ perpetuò futuros aliquando esse in æterna vita. Sed septima incursio morbi finem fecit vitæ in terris ipsius, idque ego in itinere cognoveram.*"—*Vita Philippi Melancthonis*, p. 372.

most heavily oppressed his gentle nature, he added, "And thou shalt be free from sin: thou shalt be delivered from trouble and anxiety, and shalt be protected from the madness of theologians."*

The remains of Melancthon were consigned to a grave, dug close to the side of Luther's, in the Schloss-kirk of Wittemberg. His funeral was attended with whatever of pomp and ceremony could be employed to exhibit sentiments of love and reverence. The professors of philosophy bore him to the ground, and the short account of his life, placed in the coffin, was concluded with the affectionate testimonial, that they thereby performed the last duty towards him, whom they regarded as their father,—their protector,—their truest and best instructor.

Notwithstanding, however, the veneration thus exhibited towards the memory of Melancthon, no man of eminence, it has been observed, was ever more harshly treated, either before or after his death.† Reasons, easily understood, have been assigned to account for this. Among the first is the circumstance, that he never gave himself up entirely to the interests of any party, as distinguished from the mass of those who simply sought the glory of Christ and the gospel. Great, it is said, as was the sum of the benefits which he had conferred upon the Church and religion,—upon learning and philosophy,—they were in reality counted as nothing, because not confined to the little circle of some sect, or to the exclusive advancement of a particular dogma. It is not denied that he had his weaknesses; and even his admirers are but little inclined to contend that he did no harm by his readiness to listen, at all times, to the representations of those who, not like himself, wholly devoted to the truth, persuaded him to concessions which had no other object than the establishment of a vain and treacherous peace. He is not, indeed, altogether free from the charge of having vacillated in certain points of his creed, and of having thereby injured, in some degree, the best interests of

* Adami Vitæ Germann. Philos. p. 93; ed. 1705.

† Schröckh, t. iv., b. ii., p. 688.

the Church which he had so great a share in founding. But charges of this kind, when brought against a man like Melancthon, create at once a strong feeling of doubt respecting their correctness. It is plain, from the whole course of his life, that he never had any personal interests to serve. All his nearest and most valued friendships, the noblest of his recollections, urged him rather to keep in the old track than depart from it in the slightest degree, or for a single moment. The change then which may be discovered in the development of his opinions, must be attributed to causes belonging either to a mistaken view of what was expedient in the management of parties, or to the actual influence of conviction, the fruit of intenser thought, of a deeper insight into the heavenly mysteries. Much might be said in favour of the latter supposition. Melancthon was a man of vast learning, and his stores of knowledge were perpetually increasing. Remarkable for intellectual labour, he was no less distinguished for holiness of life and disposition. Combined with these features of character were also his remarkable love of candour, his openness to conviction, and his freedom from those obstacles which exist in a less refined class of minds to the ready acknowledgment of each successive discovery of the truth.

When these things are considered, there seems great reason to believe, that the changes in Melancthon's opinions were rather the result of careful inquiry, than the consequence of a facility, approaching to weakness, to yield to those who appeared to have in their hands the peace of the Church. He was, doubtless, at all times ready to sacrifice for great objects whatever he supposed of no vital importance to the interests of holiness; nor could he endure to see strife and enmity kept up, when persuasion, or an open declaration of brotherly kindness, had the smallest chance of subduing the hostile spirit. When the feelings of those with whom he was associated are brought into the calculation, a still greater probability is given to the belief that it was the superiority which he possessed in powers of thought and inquiry, happily combined with a true

Christian spirit, and no infirmity of purpose, that led him to speak and act, as he did, in relation to the doctrinal differences existing between the reformed Churches. The men to whom he was opposed, in these respects, were many of them constitutionally intolerant, of hard and angry tempers, and but little disposed to spend any time in the investigation of systems not exactly accordant with their own. Whether, these things considered, Melancthon, or his accusers, were the more likely to be on the side of truth; whether piety owed greater obligations to this or that party, it is not for us to decide; but, at all events, a doubt may fairly be entertained respecting the justice of most of the harsh notions indulged in, and propagated, by those who were resolved, if possible, to judge all men by their own standard, and rule the movements of other minds by the laws proper to themselves.

Melancthon's services to religion were important and permanent. By the continued grace of him who, at the first "gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ:"* according to the appointments of the same enduring mercy, God's people have still been supplied with men fitted according to their several ranks and positions, to carry forward the designs of the gospel. Melancthon was no less needed than those who rendered themselves more conspicuous in the energetic and irresistible appeals of popular preaching. Were the plans of Divine goodness confined to a single season, the readiest and the boldest workman would ever be the object of our choice. But it is an important consideration that God's designs are for countless ages, and that, consequently, the strength which would expend itself in exertions restricted, by their nature, to the present, is not sufficient to the fulfilment of the heavenly purpose, but must be combined with another species of energy,—with the quiet, temperate, foreseeing activity of minds that love to dwell, in the secret retirement of their thoughts, on the broad expanses of the future, and to

* Ephes. c. iv., v. 11, 12.

prepare a way through the desert, for generations yet unborn. The value of such meditations is not always seen, perhaps it was not intended to be seen, in the immediate course of brilliant and profitable action. But there are surely thoughts which have a good and value in themselves: inquiries which begin and end with truth as the chief and best possession of the soul. And if such be, in any degree, the case, then the disposition of some minds to shrink from outward enterprize, and to dwell long and carefully on their own internal workings, may be regarded as no less clearly indicating the goodness of God, than the variety of seasons, climates, and elements, whereby alone the universal necessities of the world can be adequately supplied. Melancthon did not belong to the highest class of intellects, but he was thoughtful, spiritual, and abounding in the ripe fruits of erudition. He attracted around him, by the influence of these endowments, a vast number of men who needed to be conciliated in order to be converted. There were some who listened attentively to Luther, because he was venerated by Melancthon, and others who, originally convinced by his mighty demonstrations of the truth, were kept steady to the vows of their first enthusiasm, by the serene, benignant course of his affectionate associate. Melancthon's learning was of no ordinary cast, nor did it fail to produce those effects, which, though vainly looked for from the acquirements of cold and worldly men, are rarely wanting to the labours of those whose knowledge is added to faith and holiness. The harshness of the old styles was as strongly contrasted with the freshness and harmony of Melancthon's current of thought and language, as were the marrowless sentences of the schoolmen with the noble, evangelical sermons of Luther. It was almost impossible that the students of Wittemberg should resist the attractions of his eloquence, or that the writings, in which he stored up his experience, and set forth the doctrines on which he placed his hope of acceptance with God, should cease to be read, till the principles which they were intended to establish had acquired sufficient maturity to produce a literature of their own.

The good thus effected must have far outweighed the injury, if any, which resulted from Melancthon's supposed want of resolution in the conduct of controversy. Even the severest judgment must acknowledge that neither indolence nor insincerity, neither selfishness nor ambition, influenced his determinations. His offence, at the worst, was the consequence of miscalculating the dispositions of men, the force of their tendencies towards peace. His merits were indisputable: so also his piety, his benevolence, his faithfulness to the gospel; his tender and devoted love to Luther; his earnest and untiring zeal for the promotion of whatever he deemed best adapted to promote the glory of God, and peace and good-will towards men.

Melancthon had formed a party, but this was less by his own calculated and designed influence, than by the power which he incidentally exercised. Moderate men of all classes gathered round him, for he was willing to listen to them all, and he had, to a certain degree, the ability to do good to all. They confessed the force of his arguments when he proved the value of his own principles: they were grateful for the willingness which he manifested to secure for them, as far as it was allowed him, the blessings of brotherly communion. Thus, independently of any peculiar modification of existing systems, there was sufficient in Melancthon's station and temper to obtain for him a numerous band of followers, and it is easy to perceive that among those who owned his influence, from these common and general motives, many would be found attached to him more closely by their absolute approval of those shades of opinion, in which he was supposed to vary from the doctrines of the stricter Lutherans.

But whatever origin may be assigned to the party of which Melancthon was confessedly the leader, it soon ceased to exist when he could no longer be appealed to as its guide and supporter. His death gave, at first, a fresh impulse to the enthusiasm of his followers, and the most active among them gathered round his son-in-law, Gasper Peucer, a physician, a man of learning and ability, and fondly devoted to Melancthon's views. The

party, of which he thus became the centre, pressed their design with untiring assiduity, and, with many, nothing less was desired than the supplanting of Lutheranism by the gradual introduction of the complete system of Calvin. For some time they were permitted to work unnoticed, except by those who had habituated themselves to the constant scrutiny of theological strife. At length, however, the season of concealment was at an end. The Crypto-calvinists could do no more than they had, without coming boldly forth, and challenging their opponents to an open trial of strength for the possession of the field. This was done, by the publication of a work, entitled, "*Exegesis perspicua controversiæ de Cœna Domini.*" In this treatise, an unmodified declaration was made in favour of the Calvinistic doctrines, and the peculiarities of Lutheranism were treated with a boldness approaching to scorn.

The government could no longer remain an inactive spectator of the contest. Its honour and integrity, the stability of some of its institutions not the less important to its welfare, because of their late modification, and especially its credit for consistency and foresight, were exposed to no slight degree of peril in the present strife. The most resolute proceedings were necessary, supposing that the affair was viewed in a simply political point of view, to stop the diffusion of the opinions which had become current in Germany. Augustus, the elector of Saxony, had hitherto seemed to regard the dispute as unworthy of particular attention. His theologians convinced him, at this stage of the controversy, that terms must no longer be kept with those who had, as they considered, held such bad faith with the founders of their church. Many an amiable man, and excellent divine, had used efforts which they hoped might tend to soften the asperity of parties, and convince them that, without danger to the purity of evangelical doctrine, they might live in peace and charity. But there was a sternness in the leading spirits of those times which resisted persuasion, and generally preferred suffering of any kind to the subjection, or sacrifice of opinion.

Despising the threats which their continued adherence

to the Calvinistic doctrines had provoked, they soon encountered the resentment of the government as culprits no longer deserving forbearance. The foremost of their party were cast into prison, nor was the treatment of the sufferers softened by any of those indulgences which, it might have been supposed, would certainly, in protestant Germany, have been extended to men suffering for conscience' sake. So great was the misery endured by these champions of the persecuted opinions, that one of them died in prison after two years of captivity; another was so bowed down by agony that he fell into despair, and sought to destroy himself. His death at length followed the tortures which he endured upon the rack, but the cause of his exposure to such a punishment remains still a matter of mystery. Peucer, Melancthon's son-in-law, shared the prison with this unfortunate man, and remained in confinement no less than twelve years; this lengthened captivity being attributable, it is conjectured, as much to the jealousy which his former influence with the elector had inspired, as to his actual efforts to promote the sentiments which he was accused of supporting. Frequently offered his freedom, on condition that he should submit to the ordinances of the Lutheran Church, he refused to accept it on such terms, and, in the midst of his worst distresses, had the boldness to warn the elector of the combined folly and danger of every attempt to overcome the truth.*

Though for a time suppressed, the hopes of the Calvinistic party were far from extinguished. It was utterly impossible that this should be the case in a state of things like that under which they had begun to exist. They had as much of essential vitality in them as those which had urged on the Lutherans themselves, through so many stages of trial and difficulty, to final success. They rested, moreover, on appeals to Scripture; were nourished by an intense and very widely-professed zeal for spiritual holiness; and could draw fresh strength from the deep fountains of brotherly love and sympathy existing in foreign churches.

* He was set free, at last, in submission to the entreaties of the Prince of Anhalt, and became physician to that prince, in whose service he died in the year 1602.

During the short reign of Christian I. the Calvinists of Saxony recommenced their operations with sanguine expectations of success. The prince himself was known to be favourable to any design which might soften the severity of the high Lutheran party. His minister, Crellius, was still more openly inclined to the same opinions. But the popular mind was against the reforms which they meditated; and in the midst of the struggles that ensued, the Calvinists were suddenly left, by the death of their protector, to the unbridled resentment of a sovereign of the most opposite character and opinions. The unfortunate Crellius fell a sacrifice to the measures whereby he attempted to support the interests of his party,* and the prisons again beheld their chambers tenanted by men celebrated for their piety and learning.

While such were the disorders excited by the conflict of the Lutheran and Calvinistic systems, new modifications of doctrine were every day making their appearance. Of these, some were the product of ingenious minds, merely seeking employment for their restless energies. Others had their birth in the proud desire of opposing what seemed to be settled by authority; and a third class were the offspring of an anxious benevolence, trusting, mistakingly in too many instances, that something might be suggested, or contrived, for the amalgamating of all parties into one.

Among the theologians who rendered themselves conspicuous, at this period, by statements of doctrine, the uncompromising violence of which provoked fresh controversies, was Samuel Huber, a native of the canton of Bern, and a minister of the Swiss Church, as established on the general principles of the Reformation. The diffusion of Calvin's opinions on the subject of election and reprobation, called his attention particularly to this branch of theology. He was soon led to believe that the dogmas of the Genevese reformer were opposed to the truth and mercy of God. His opinions becoming known, he was deprived of his parish, and, according to the fashion of the times, he was further punished by

* This was after a ten years' imprisonment. His execution took place at Dresden, in the year 1601.

imprisonment. On obtaining his liberty, he hastened into Germany, where he joined the Lutherans, and was not long in acquiring the esteem of those with whom he became connected. His learning, and zealous desire to promote the cause of holiness, amply justified his friends in the efforts they employed to promote his welfare. But his hatred of the Calvinistic account of the doctrine of election had undergone no diminution since his retirement from Switzerland. His mere theological hostility was now, moreover, combined with no slight degree of personal resentment, ever renewed and strengthened by the recollection of the troubles to which he had been exposed by the advocates of Calvin's system.

Yielding, at length, to the most violent of his feelings, he openly declared that, instead of receiving the doctrine of election, according to any of the modes in which it was at present interpreted, he believed that God had elected, without any reservation, the whole human race to the enjoyment of eternal life. The publication of such views could not be allowed to pass unnoticed; he was cited before the Consistory, but pleaded his cause so well, that he was not only acquitted of the charge of heresy, but obtained an appointment to the chair of theology at Wittemberg. It was impossible, however, for him to repress his desire to enter the lists with the Calvinists. Though now surrounded by men little likely to offend his prejudices, he provoked more than one of his fellow professors to controversy. In the end, he was obliged to leave Wittemberg, and many years of his future life were spent in the vain effort to diffuse his notions through different provinces of the Reformed Church. The consequences of the dispute thus excited were little likely to advance the credit of either party in the eyes of the common enemy. But Huber never appears to have possessed much personal influence, and his career would probably have ended in disappointment and misery, but for the benevolence of the Duke of Brunswick, who granted him a pension, and in the enjoyment of which he died, in the year 1624, at the age of seventy-seven.

It is generally acknowledged by Lutheran writers that, notwithstanding the troublesome character of Huber's proceedings, his opinions were much less opposed to the doctrines of their church, in reality, than in appearance. The arguments by which he supported his notions were derived from such passages of Scripture as these: "According as he hath chosen us in him, before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy, and without blame, before him in love: Having predestinated us unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ to himself, according to the good pleasure of his will:" and, "The grace of God that bringeth salvation, hath appeared unto all men."* Man, he further argued, was created in the image of God, and hence a proof of the intended universality of grace. The promise given immediately after the fall, and the nature of the sacraments, afforded another ground, as he supposed, for the support of his opinions.

But that the doctrine which he taught was, in reality, of no practical importance, appears from his own declaration. "I confess," he says, "that, if the knowledge of God's grace, as here described, should be bestowed on all men, there is no doubt but that they would still be divided into two great classes, distinguished by belief and unbelief. The one would follow the path marked out by God, receive and do every thing according to his appointment, and at last attain to that for which it is chosen in Christ, namely, eternal life. The other class, and that by far the larger, would not hear the gospel, or, if it should hear it, would despise it, and obstinately disregard and cast aside that salvation to which God had elected, foreordained, and chosen it, no less than the other. This multitude is eternally condemned and lost."†

On this confession one of the divines who employed no slight share of ability in opposing Huber, observes, that "his intentions were evidently far better than his expressions," and his obscurity of language has been attributed to a misunderstanding of the statements,

* Ephes. i., 4, 5. Titus, ii., 11.

† Schröckh, t. iv., p. 663.

"Therefore, as by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life;" and, "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them."*

Some wonder has been expressed that a controversy, so bitter as that to which Huber gave rise, could have continued to support itself on such seemingly slight grounds. But the difficulty is removed by the recollection, that, while he was venturing to assail a party, daily increasing in strength, he aroused even that to which he professedly belonged, to resist the haughty and dogmatic spirit with which he propounded his opinions.

CHAP. II.

CALIXTUS AND SYNCRETISM.—THE MYSTICS.

NEVER had the Church of Christ been exposed to more distressing difficulties than those which it had, at this time, to encounter. Times of persecution bring with them, by the grace of God, the blessings which attend upon the devotion of martyrs and confessors. "I can do all things, through Christ which strengtheneth me," is then the common language of believers; and the power of Christ, and the pervading influence of his spirit, are recognized as antagonist principles sufficient to overcome the mightiest efforts of the world. Times in which the people of God are known to be few and scattered, and when religion has so declined in strength, that the multitude who bear the name of Christ are manifestly strangers to his grace, do often present such a depth of piety, such noble instances of spiritual energy in the small band of faithful Christians, that their firm hold of the promises, and the living beauty

* Romans, v., 18. 2 Cor. v., 19.

of their virtues, are sufficient to remove despondence as to the condition of succeeding generations.

But we are now studying the events of a period when dangers existed, which seemed to render doubtful the state of believers themselves. In many seasons of outward peril, God's people, driven together by communion of faith and hopes, rather than by fear, have remained safe in the sanctuary, whither the enemy thought not of penetrating, except for the sake of inflicting upon them wounds that could neither injure any vital principle, nor disturb the serenity of their souls. The present dangers belonged immediately to the most enlightened and devout professors of evangelical religion; and hence the duty of every one who could make his voice heard, through even a small circle, to rouse, exhort, and persuade those whom he might by any means influence to provide for their safety.

What were the dangers to which we allude? Whence their origin? What the probable means of escaping them? It requires many efforts of earnest thought to realize the notion of what has been called primitive Christianity. By this we do not mean that it is difficult to tell what the first disciples of Christ believed, or how they acted. But by primitive Christianity seems generally to be meant a system of doctrine, discipline and practice, no less distinctly impressed with special characteristics than any of those later systems which have been designated by particular titles. There is a tendency to confound the state of the individual believer with that of the community to which he belongs; and to apply indiscriminately the terms which can only properly describe the one to the peculiarities of the other. Christianity in the believer of the first century, can have exercised only the same powers, can have been developed in the renewed character, by no other than the same means and methods with which its true professors have been familiar in every succeeding age. Its divine author, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, those most intensely quickened by his spirit, must exhibit the same unchangeable elements of being.

Primitive Christianity then presents to our notice the

features of a system, existing in the first ages of the gospel, and not the character of individual disciples. Was the main distinction of that early system of a spiritual kind? If so, it could only have been in the degrees of its strength and continuity of operation that it made that period differ from any other. The distinction thus considered is one which scarcely deserves the name; for there have been, in the different ages of the Church's progress, seasons of every variety of temper and degree of spirituality and fervour; and periods when, if we may judge by their fruits, the spirit of faith and fervent devotion was as powerful as in the very earliest season of evangelical religion.

But while it would be vain to ascribe the difference between primitive Christianity and the Christianity of any other age to a superior intensity of the one general and spiritual principle, we may, perhaps, find some element of that difference in the relative weight and force of particular graces; some of them occupying a place, a relative height and power, superior to those which they have enjoyed at any later period.

Let us examine, with this view, the character of the earliest Christian community. There will be faith with its train of heroic graces ready for the loftiest designs. Hope giving a tone of gladness to expressions of awful devotion. There will be the spirituality which knows no compromise with the sensual world, and an earnestness of thought, and directness of heavenly purpose, which have never had their equals since, except in seasons acknowledged to be remarkable for instances of spiritual power.

But there is still another virtue of the Christian community to be mentioned, and that is, brotherly love; nor is it possible to contemplate long the state of the Church in the earliest times, without discovering the immense preponderance which this virtue had in the formation of the system by which it was originally governed. Faith, hope, and their kindred graces, belong to individuals; but the spirit of fraternal charity is proper to a community, and cannot exist in any high degree, without giving to the system which it animates

a very striking and peculiar character. However necessary it is to the life of Christian practice, at all times, lamentable experience shows that it has but rarely been allowed to exercise its proper force ; nor has it, there is reason to fear, ever since the primitive ages, operated to the full extent of its energies in giving form and life to the institutions of the Church.

Whatever we know of primitive Christianity, it is by the prevalence of this virtue that it may be best distinguished from the Christianity of other times. "See how these Christians love one another"! It was the very characteristic which struck the eye of the most superficial observer. When the mysterious tokens of faith could be regarded as little different from other mystic things, the Christian brotherhood, founded on a common belief, but exhibiting proofs of a strength and activity which no other common profession had ever been known to bestow, excited the admiration of the multitude, the curiosity of the few, the emulation of all who had in their hearts the anxious desire to improve the condition of mankind, by bringing the different parts of the family into nearer and more affectionate communion.

It is not necessary here to speak of the principles on which the early Christians founded this holy brotherhood. They had a great deal more than the mere commands of their Lord to animate their affections. There was one spirit as well as one hope of their calling: there was one fountain of salvation, and one altar, and one sacrifice. Wonderful objects for contemplation, and capable of effecting, by mere external influence on the thoughts, no slight change in the tendencies of the mind. But they were things to be participated in as offering life ; and, when duly received, they made the comers thereunto perfect in Christ, the head of the body of which they were thus rendered living members.

Little could it matter by what name this true brotherhood was called. It had indeed "a name which is above every name," in regard to earthly institutions, or even earthly comprehension. In one language, however, it received a title significant of the state of its

members with reference to the world: in another, a name descriptive of their subjection to the Lord. But the nature of the system could not be affected by its appellation, and whether *Ecclesia*, or *Church*, the title given to the family of God, in Christ, neither adds to, nor takes from, its genuine attributes.

That a society or communion of this kind existed, immediately after the original publication of the gospel, has never been denied. That it was mainly distinguished by the principle here spoken of, is almost equally a matter of history. Had that society then continued in the state in which it existed at the beginning, there would have been as little difficulty in determining its characteristics, as in forming an estimate of its claims to the admiration of generous and virtuous minds.

But what does the actual history of this society show? It was next to impossible that it should really rapidly increase. Yet it did seemingly increase beyond all expectation. There were numberless contradictions, in its very constitution and spirit, to the principles of the world, yet in an incredible short time the world had professedly submitted itself to its government. Was this, we are compelled to ask, an act of complacency on the part of mankind, at large, or a sacrifice on the side of the followers of Christ? Did the former, or the latter, make the first approaches?

It is not necessary that we should answer these questions, but it may be useful to consider how the Christian communion acquired its most rapid and conspicuous enlargement. It is evident, if we keep carefully in view the origin, the fundamental principles, the main and life-giving spirit of the evangelical system, that there could be no proper addition to the numbers of those in communion with its original supporters, but by fresh outpourings of heavenly grace, and that the new members of the society could only actually be incorporated by becoming participants of the one spirit, as truly as they had declared themselves believers in respect to the one faith.

And what do we suppose was the hope entertained by

those who preached the gospel, under the immediate influence of divine grace? Is there reason to believe that they expected the actual advance of the kingdom of righteousness with such rapid strides? There are, indeed, intimations of the confidence with which they looked forward to the final triumph of the gospel, and there are some which plainly prove, they had enough of hopefulness in regard to their own personal labours, and the efficacy of their prayers, to press on, step by step, in the spirit of conquest, and successful enterprize. "Yea! so have I strived," was the familiar language of these holy men "to preach the gospel, not where Christ was named, lest I should build upon another man's foundation; but, as it is written, to whom he was not spoken of, they shall see; and they that have not heard, shall understand." But there was no indistinct recollection of the question, involving a multitude of sad and awful considerations, "When I come, shall I find faith on the earth?" False brethren, creeping in unawares; apostates, hypocrites, reprobates, deniers of the Lord that bought them; representatives of the world in all its provinces of evil; rose before the eyes of those who knew that, to fulfil the commission with which they were charged, they must penetrate to the earth's utmost bounds. Both prophecy, and the acquaintance which they possessed with the gospel itself, and with the nature of the difficulties to be encountered in its diffusion, prevented their forming the notion of its becoming, in any readily measured period, the religion of the world.

It is reasonable to conclude from hence, that the means employed for the government of the primitive institution, would be such as were simply adapted to a very small, and well-disposed society. The highest penalty that it could even desire to inflict, would be expulsion from its communion. Its officers would be strictly ministers, persons, that is, whose distinction it was to be constantly employed in distributing the wonderful means of grace with which the Lord had intrusted them for the general good of the whole body.

Now, let us hasten forward a little. One, two, three centuries have passed away. Where is the society so

full of the life which God's spirit gives? The community, so strongly marked by the noblest influences of fraternal charity? Does it no longer exist? God forbid! for then were the promises forfeited, and our faith become of no avail. Where must we look for it? The first person of whom we ask this question, answers, "The brotherhood, of which you are in search, consists now of nearly the whole human race." We inquire immediately, "Does it continue to exhibit the same qualities, the same striking characteristics which distinguished it, in the first periods, from the mighty masses of mankind?"

The questions thus put, are among the most difficult which Christians, of an advanced era, can have to answer. They hear their creed repeated by multitudes of fellow-worshippers. Society impressed, far below its mere surface, by the traces of Christian influence, declares the sovereignty of the gospel; and present charity, in numberless forms, owns that it was generated, and first began to be, in moments coeval with the incarnation of the Son of God. What then should hinder our acknowledging that the brotherhood has been kept up to the present time, or lead us to deny that the Church has the same elements of life which it enjoyed in the earliest ages?

History affords a very intelligible reply to these inquiries: it shows that the Church has been increased in a twofold manner. According to the one, it has become enlarged by the operation of its own inward spirit; its graces diffusing themselves like the rays of the sun, and renewing those upon whom they happily fall, till they become assimilated in nature to the living body whence they receive the light. But other, and the far larger, additions are made to it by the influence which it exercises on the circumstances of mankind. Though so essentially opposed to whatever is low or earthly, Christianity has ever afforded the best supports to principles and designs in the highest degree profitable to the well-being of society. Hence the most devoted advocates of expediency could easily be induced, prior to the existence of particular prejudices, to accept its aid in the promotion of their plans. Hence, too, the possibility

of bribing many, who had no apprehension of the actual obligations imposed by the gospel, to bear the name of Christians, and yield an outward obedience to the laws of their supposed belief.

Before the commencement of the fifth century, the experiment had been tried of governing provinces and kingdoms by the new rule of the gospel. Another age brought conviction to many of the sagest and most experienced minds, that no better system could be devised for the management of the world at large, than one which should consist of methods established, in the main, on certain modifications of evangelical doctrine.

What was found to be true and good, on the larger scale, was not wanting in power to confer benefits in the narrower circles of social life. A general complacency of feeling was thus created in favour of the adoption of Christianity as the religion of the world. Millions of disciples were added in a far shorter space of time than had been employed by apostles, and apostolic men, in converting a few hundreds. The features of society were changed: new names were imposed, new laws instituted; not only the substance, but even the trace of what was old had soon passed away.

Here then was an increase of the Church; but it was made, either by the exercise of power from without, or by the suggestions and calculations of natural reason. It was not an increase like that before described. But notwithstanding the dissimilarity of the additions, and of the modes in which they were effected, the difference could be discerned by those only who had been made partakers of the living and sublime spirit of the early institution. The whole mass, as one compact body, bore a common name, was governed apparently by the same laws, and acknowledged with equal and unhesitating homage the same head.

Grand, however, as this triumph of the gospel seemed, it was impossible that wise, earnest, devoted believers in Christ should fail to perceive the danger to which their faith and principles were exposed. The brotherhood still existed; but who could say that it was commensurate with the Christian world? Who would now

venture upon the task of tracing those lineaments of holiness and love which gave so obvious an expression to the primitive Church? It was plain that the rule, which had been sufficient to keep the small, faithful band of God's servants obedient to the truth, could hardly avail under such altered circumstances. Efforts were made to supply the deficiency: efforts prompted alike by piety and wisdom. Confessions were drawn up to preserve entire the system of divine faith: to protect it against the fluctuations of human zeal, and to afford sincere and humble minds a ready place of refuge from the pursuit of soul-destroying heresies.

But neither was the profoundest wisdom in the governing spirits of the Church sufficient to control the petulance of new professors, nor could even an external union be kept up, for any considerable period, though aimed at, and promoted, by all the power of the empire. Heresies and parties had existed in very early times, but they were insignificant, as to strength, when compared with the orthodox. Essentially it was so still: but practically not. Huge masses were attached to the small, living body, by artificial bands. Time had brought them into closer adherence: and as they continued to be rent forcibly from the frame to which they were bound, the very heart of the Church seemed to beat with convulsive throes, and to feel for the moment as if it had been itself torn with innumerable wounds.

A new power was at length brought into operation. The growing influence of the Roman hierarchy acted as an antagonist force to the wantonness of the multitude, and the pride of wits and philosophers. An apparent unity was thereby again established, and it was, to a great extent, preserved, till the Reformation, loosing the strings of the machine, or breaking the sides of the earthen vessel in which the streams of human opinion had been collected, again left the multitude of Christian professors to choose leaders for themselves, or set up, in their own minds, some favoured dogma, as their guide and master, in the formation of a scheme which should offer no difficulties either to their understanding or their conscience.

With what success such attempts were likely to be made, we have already seen. The increasing excitement, and multiplying divisions in the churches of their dominions, could not but demand the attention of the sovereigns in whose countries they occurred. It is often lost sight of, that religious dissensions are fully as likely as any other to disturb the course of government, and permanently injure the prosperity of a nation. A monarch, therefore, who might have no regard whatever for the interests of this or that party, who might have no knowledge even of the subject in dispute, would yet feel himself constrained to take very active measures for the silencing of those whom he saw foremost in promoting disputes.

This course was taken, and that by sovereigns of very different personal characters. But, with whatever vigour pursued, it was followed, scarcely in any case, with even a moderate share of the success which attended the plans of Papal Rome. The authority of the Popes had an element in it which could not be found in that of temporal rulers. Their most politic, therefore, as well as their most strenuous efforts failed, for the most part, of their object.

Observant and benevolent men, foreseeing the growing evils of such a state of things, strove to discover in the vast volume of church experience, spread before them, the means of quieting the present excitement. Unfortunately for the interests of charity, the case was dissimilar, in many respects, from any which presented itself in the records of former times. They were, therefore, obliged to call to their aid the resources of their own judgment. This would have connected them, in principles of action, with the very parties whose bold and heedless daring they were most anxious to suppress. It was necessary, consequently, that they should look far back into the annals of their religion, and that, not resting in the mere facts of history, they should make themselves masters of the moods of thought and feeling which belonged to times when there was as much of love as knowledge, and when the institutions existing, and those proposed, were chiefly regarded as valuable,

because they tended to preserve entire this principle of union.

To restore so noble a feature of the Christian community to its original distinctness and beauty, was a project that lay near the heart of many of the leaders of churches and sects in those days. It furnished the strongest of the impulses which Melancthon obeyed; but it was reserved for George Calixtus to make the actual experiment of bringing about a union of all parties, and to argue openly and decidedly against, what he regarded, the intolerant exclusiveness of contemporary churches.

This remarkable man was born in 1586, in the obscure village of Meelby, in the duchy of Schleswig. Such was his rapid advancement in the university of Helmstadt, that before he reached the age of twenty, he became distinguished as a teacher of philosophy and the sciences. Having shortly after devoted himself to the study of theology, he pursued this new branch of learning with an earnestness and devotion proportioned to its importance.

His first guide through the difficult paths of scientific divinity was Martini, a theologian deeply imbued with the love of antient learning. By his advice, Calixtus gave a large portion of his time to the perusal of the earliest writers, and thence acquired those stores of erudition which afforded him, in after years, such a manifest superiority to most of his opponents in controversy. According to the custom of the age, he soon began to display his powers in lectures and disputations; but his good sense convinced him, that he still needed experience, and a wider acquaintance with the state of religion, than could be readily acquired at Helmstadt. Yielding to this conviction, he visited several of the most celebrated universities, and spent some time at Mainz, where he found many learned men, and a noble library. He next repaired to the university of Giessen, near Frankfort. There his views met with some opposition*, and he returned to Helmstadt, in order to defend

* From Menzer, *Oculatissimo temporis sui censore*. Weismanni *Introductio in Memorabilia Ecclesiastica Historiæ Sacræ Nov. Test.*, Pars. II., sec. xvii., p. 1195.

a series of disputations on the "principal heads of the Christian religion."

Having accomplished this object, he set out on another and more extensive tour, in company with Matthias Overbeck, an accomplished and wealthy Netherlander. At Cologne they remained six months, Calixtus diligently employing the whole of the time in observing the actual state of the Roman Catholic Church in that place. It was for purposes of this kind only that he had undertaken the journey. He acknowledged the necessity of studying the characters of the great antagonist parties for himself; and the result of his inquiries, conducted as they were with much of caution and acuteness, furnished the inquirers of his age with many incentives to the more charitable treatment of opponents. His work on "The Pontifical Sacrifice of the Mass" exhibits the temper in which he observed and reasoned. To many it could not but appear too apologetical in the tone of some of its most important passages. But while the style of a writer whose sole object it is to suppress rancour of spirit will occasionally be not far different from that of the actual advocate, a slight exercise of candour will suffice to make the distinction, and save the labours of a peace-loving mind from the wretched calumnies with which they have frequently been met.

Calixtus next visited England, where he is said to have gained much and valuable information. His chief companion in London was the celebrated scholar, Isaac Casaubon. Through him, he obtained an introduction to the bishops, and other distinguished members of the English Church; and Protestantism, or the grand features of the Reformation, were thus presented to him under circumstances, and in a form, entirely new.

Having returned to Germany by way of Paris, where he continued his investigations with unexhausted curiosity and zeal, he was soon after entreated, by the mother of a young nobleman of Brunswick, to undertake a controversy with a learned Jesuit, influenced by whose arguments, her son was on the point of falling into the snares of Romanism. Calixtus had prepared himself

in the most admirable manner for such a task. Not like the common herd of controversialists, he was in no danger of being surprised by unanswerable representations of facts to which he was a stranger. He knew exactly how much weight there would be in the scale opposite his own, and what solidity there must be in the materials with which he intended to secure the preponderance. His triumph was of real importance to the Church. The Jesuit, it is said, retired secretly after the first day's encounter, and Calixtus enjoyed a reputation, during the remainder of his life, which would have left little to be desired by a far more ambitious man. The Archduke Augustus, renowned for his learning and wisdom, endowed him with the revenues of the Abbey of Königsutter, and employed him as his most confidential counsellor. In this honourable situation he continued till his death, which happened in the year 1656.

Active and intelligent as were the times in which Calixtus lived, he appears to be generally regarded as in advance of his age. His merits, however, will necessarily be estimated at a very different rate by different parties; nor ought we to be too ready to accuse those who opposed him of uncharitableness or zealotry. It requires not only very high acquirements, but singular gifts of nature, to enable a man to look on the controversies of his times as Calixtus did on the strife which raged around him. In nine cases out of ten, it is pride or indifference which prompts the language of those who speak of religious contentions as intolerable violations of consistency. The real, heartfelt desire of bringing the professors of different dogmas into a holy bond of brotherhood is then only respectable when its birth can be traced legitimately to charity and knowledge. Even then, such is the jealousy with which it is natural for anxious minds to view proposals of compromise, that their true origin will often be doubted, and their authors have to endure the pain of finding their sincerity suspected, and their noblest intentions resisted with indignation and contempt.

Calixtus, it is probable, like most men of ardent temperament, considered, at the beginning of his career, many objects attainable which vanished into immeasurable distance as he continued to pursue them. He might, at first, conceive the idea of actually reuniting the separate branches of the Catholic Church. But it appears evident, from expressions in his writings, that this notion was not of long duration. It yielded to the one which minds deeply imbued with the spirit of hope and charity will, in every age, be found to entertain. He fondly continued to believe, that though no formal or visible union might be attainable, much of essential peace might be recovered, and that the incitements to rancour being removed, future ages would have the full enjoyment of the fruits of concord.*

* "If human authority," says Warburton, "hath usurped upon conscience, there are not wanting those who, on the other hand, have used conscience for a *cloak of maliciousness*, and, on pretence of *one being our Father which is in heaven*, have denied that obedience to the Church of Christ which, as a mere human society, it might claim, and which, on that very footing, Christ himself hath commanded us to pay unto it, where he directs his followers to *hear the Church*. But authority, which these words imply, is a mockery without submission and obedience. Hence the reasonableness of subscription to a *general formulary of faith*, which the nature of society makes necessary in order to tie a number of particulars into one body. A bond, which may have its due efficacy without violating any of the rights of conscience; for all the jurisdiction which follows from it is only this, that so long as any member of the community professeth that *general formulary*, which the end of society requires, to admit him into church-communion, he be obedient to such laws of his spiritual governors as concern discipline, so far the authority of the Church, as a religious society, extends, and no farther. For whenever a private member of it can no longer, with a good conscience, subscribe to the points of doctrine professed, or conform to the mode of worship in practice, or submit to the rules of discipline enforced, all that remains is expulsion or excommunication; but unattended with opprobrious censures, civil incapacities, or corporal or pecuniary inflictions; in a word, with every consequence that may injuriously affect the person, fortune, or reputation of the ejected member." . . . Again: "The spirit of dominion soon betrayed itself in the newly manumised Churches of God. First, by too unreasonably narrowing the bottom of church-communion, and thereby persecuting of those whose consciences would not suffer them to subscribe to their terms. So that the simple, uniform gospel faith, on which the Protestant churches were professedly founded, soon became broken into sects and conventicles; and every defenceless party which had most suffered for opinions, no sooner got civil power on their side, than they returned the injustice with double injury. For persecution, though it may strengthen and improve our faith, doth not so easily enlarge our charity."—"Of Church Authority," Works, vol. ix., p. 196-199

To promote even the lowest realization of such conceptions, it was necessary to begin with trials of his own mind, to prove the power which its reason could exercise over prejudice, and its love of truth and benevolence against the promptings of passion, whether generated in selfish or in party pride; and this Calixtus seems to have attempted with a high and generous effort; but his earliest experiments involved him in painful disputes. When he endeavoured to make it appear that many of the grosser charges urged against the Roman Catholics were daily becoming less tenable, he was immediately accused of seeking to betray the interests of Protestantism. When, again, he sought to prove the comparatively slight importance of many of the topics which separated the Lutherans and the reformed, he was assailed with still greater virulence, and viewed as concentrating within himself whatever is most hateful in heresy. To all these accusations he replied with consummate skill in argumentation; but he is generally considered as having overstepped the bounds of prudence, by often stating in terms broad and startling, what he thought of errors, which provocation only tempted him to soften or excuse.

While, however, there was much in the mind and temper of Calixtus which might be regarded as the result of an effort, the consequence of a careful disciplining of the thoughts, according to the dictates of peace and charity, there may be traced in some of his ruling opinions themselves grounds for the course which he took in regard to more than one of the controversies in which he held a conspicuous station. Thus, for example, though merely from motives familiar to many cultivated and generous minds of a peculiar order, he sought to palliate the superstitions of Romanism, he agreed, to a large extent and from conviction, in some points with Roman Catholic divines. His republication of Vincentius Lirens, and his general sentiments on the subject of tradition, afforded plausible reasons for doubting his confidence in the sufficiency of Scripture, the characteristic of the orthodox of his church and times.

So also in regard to the mass, the mode and means of justification, and other subjects of a similar nature, a style of argument is adopted, through which it is easy to discern a greater sympathy with the parties separate, at the time, from his own communion than with that communion itself. This could not escape the observation of the divines who occupied influential stations in the Lutheran Church. He was suspected, from the very commencement of his career, of giving up important points to the adversary, and of mingling some notions of his own with the other parts of the Christian faith, which partook more of Aristotelian subtilty than evangelical truth.*

But even after it has been allowed, that he made some concessions which few, if any, circumstances could justify, and that he also exhibited a tendency to uphold opinions not agreeable to the well-ascertained sense of orthodox creeds, he has still, on his side, a host of witnesses to the purity of intention with which he laboured to soften

* The first to assail him was Menzer, the head of the University of Giessen. He wrote a letter to his son, warning him, in the strongest terms, to avoid the errors of Calixtus. This letter, not intended for the public, was printed, many years after, by one of the bitterest opponents of Syncretism. Menzer says:

"De imagine Dei et peccato video multa dici ad palatum Papistarum, quæ cordatis theologis probari non possunt. Doctrina de prædestinatione recte proponitur, sed miror hanc locutionem usurpari, electionem nostram nihil aliud esse, quam decretum de nostra salute. Nam electio facta est secundum decretum, sive propositum Dei, tanquam regulam. De unione Hypostatica quædam erudite disseruntur, sed de Communicatione Idiomatum sermo lubricus est; et, ubi de officio redemptionis agitur, pia mens acquiescere non potest in eo, quod humanæ naturæ tribuatur tantum quod humanum est. Non facta mentione communicationis operationum, juxta canonem concilii Chalced. Neque probare possum verba, meritum Christi esse aliqua ex parte infinitum. Justificationi assignantur duæ partes, remissio peccatorum atque imputatio justitiæ Christi: atque non sunt diversæ illæ partes; sed qui unum dicit, dicit alterum, idque necessario includit. Nimirum remissis peccatis justitia imputatur, et imputata justitia peccata remittuntur, ut patet Rom. iv., 6, 7. Confer in ipsa epitome ubi hæc sententia confirmatur. In discrimine V. et N. T. quadam admiscuntur Calvinianis non ingrata, quamadmodum et de Sacramentis ita loquitur, ut placere iis queat. Imprimis vehementer offendunt pios animos verba: 'Alio modo intelligere possumus Deum esse causam peccati, indirecte, improprie, et per accidens.' At, inquam ego nullo modo Deus est causa peccati, quod etiam naturæ ipsius, et voluntati, nobis in verbo revelatæ, est contrarium, ac proinde illud odit, detestatur, prohibet et punit." — Mollieri Cimbria Literata, t. III., p. 139, sec. 40.

the angry spirit of religious controversy. Had his design been encouraged by even a moderate degree of patient and benignant thought, on the part of those who held high offices in the churches appealed to, it might, at least, have so far succeeded as to lessen the abuses and evils from which none were entirely free. The very silencing of that language of opprobrium, so common in polemics, would have removed those obstacles to reform which will ever remain, so long as the passions are engaged in creating fresh causes of offence. But his plans and theories were regarded as utterly impracticable, nor were there wanting those who flung back his proposals of a renewed brotherhood with unutterable scorn. Some of the most influential of the Jesuits spoke of them as only calculated to destroy every vestige of a church, and to supply its place with another Babylon, or whatever might best betoken folly and confusion. The Lutherans and reformed spoke with no less rancour, and the only adherents to Calixtus, even in his most prosperous circumstances, were a small number of men, distinguished, like him, for their intense anxiety to see peace restored to the churches.

While, however, a numerous body existed, at all times prepared to heap calumny on the head of Calixtus, some one was still required to lead the attack in regular form, and fairly and openly try the value of his principles. Such a leader was found in Statius Buscher, a preacher at Hanover, and possessing, it appears, several of the qualities most fitted to render him a persevering antagonist to such a man as Calixtus. The first effort of Buscher, in this character, was the publication of a work entitled, "*Crypto-Papismus Novæ Theologiæ Helmstadiensis*," or, "*The Hidden Popery of the New Theology of Helmstadt*." His main argument rested upon the assertion, that Calixtus had departed from the profession to which he had bound himself by solemn oath. The terms of this profession were said to be set forth, with well-defined exactness, in the symbolical books published by authority of Duke Julius, in 1576. This collection consisted of the three antient creeds; the Augsburg Confession, and the Apology; the Articles of Smalcalde;

Luther's Catechisms, and the Advice to Preachers by Urbanus Regius. But Calixtus, instead of acknowledging the expediency of such a voluminous development of faith, contended, that it would have been wiser in the late leaders of parties, had they remained contented with the antient creeds, simply taking as aids in their interpretation, the articles of the Council of Ephesus and Chalcedon, and the well-ascertained opinions of the primitive Church. They were, however, he asserted, far more anxious to satisfy the Emperor, than to exhibit their belief in the simplest form, and hence committed the fault attendant upon too great a nicety of division and definition.

In the further exhibition of this notion, Calixtus observed to the Jesuits of Cologne, that as their church would not receive the Augsburg Confession, nor his the decrees of the Council of Trent, the dispute between them ought at once to be cut short, by their limiting the terms of communion to the acknowledgment of the few antient authorities received by them all. Here was a sufficient foundation for Buscher's argument. But Calixtus explained himself still more clearly, when he said, that, while rejecting unequivocally the heresies condemned by the antient Church, he was united, in spirit, with Christians of every denomination, who obeyed the truth according to the rule mentioned above. Even his doubts afforded reason for bitter accusation. He ventured to confess that he dare not determine whether Luther was right or wrong in his interpretation of certain passages, or in his assertion that Rome is the seat of Antichrist.

Few writers of this age presented so many temptations to a controversialist as Calixtus. The variety and extent of his speculations laid him open to attack. There was scarcely a subject in the vast range of theological science upon which he had not expressed an opinion. All this, however, it is said, would scarcely have provoked hostility in a free and inquiring age, had he not so perseveringly rebuked the rivalry and discord which disturbed the Church. This was the great offence which rendered him hateful to all parties; and when he ap-

peared in 1645 at the Colloquy of Thorn,* the suspicion already incurred was greatly increased. The elector of Brandenburg, at whose instance he came to Thorn, held a conspicuous place among the reformed. Calixtus, moreover, conversed on terms of familiarity and friendship, with the representatives of that party, and acted in other respects so as to afford his opponents a colourable pretence for saying, that he was more attached to the sectaries, who only merited hatred and contempt, than to his own church.†

His answer to this and similar accusations was the best which could be given. He employed his great and various abilities in confuting what he believed to be the errors of those with whom he was thus willing, for the general good of religion, to hold friendly and liberal intercourse. This was the case in regard to the reformed. It was equally so in respect to the Roman Catholic Church. He continued to insist upon the possibility of union; but he declared, at the same time, that there were doctrines, on both sides, which it was improbable could ever be sacrificed or modified, and that thus a vast interval must always exist between the several parties in the Christian world, did their union depend upon sameness

* Weismanni, pars. II., sec. xvii., p. 1203. Mollieri *Cimbria Literata*, t. III., p. 146.

† "Ultimum, inter odii zelotarum Lutheranorum in Calixtum implacabilis causas, locum occupet, cui primus debebatur, desiderium et studium concordie inter Ecclesias Christianas, Orientalem et Occidentalem, hujusque tres, cœtus majores, Pontificium, Lutheranum et Reformatum, hactenus dissidentes, sed eadem tamen symbola, Apostolicum, scilicet, et reliqua a conciliis profecta œcumenicis, complectentes, instaurandæ, aut tolerantie saltem mutue inter eosdem stabiliendæ, perpetuum atque ardentissimum. Hoc enim disputationibus istis, soli ferme Theologiæ assuetis polemicæ, et ceteras studii sacri partes, etsi magis necessarias, illi plerumque posthabentibus, concordia autem restituta, vel tolerantia communi firmata consensu, neminem, cum quo litigarent, cuique centies jam olim, vel millies, inculcata denuo oggererent, habituris, non potuisse non esse molestissimum, et ad iram animos adeo bellaces provocare, omnes facile intelligunt. 'Amore,' scilicet (Schaderi hic verbis utor), 'Christi Spiritu accenso, erga universam per totum orbem sparsam ecclesiam noster flagrabat, non tantum pro ejus conservatione et incremento vota precesque quotidie fundens, sed et cum primis pro pace illius, et omnium fidelium unione, tam enixe, tam omni animo ac cogitatione, sollicitus, ut ea causa vigilias, studia, labores maximos, exantlaverit, livoris, invidiæ, calumniæ, virulenta tela plurima exceperit, quinimo vita ac sanguine suo, si qua fieri posset, pacem Christianis conciliare fuerit paratus. Hinc Christianæ charitatis necessario studio, quoad valuit, insudavit, hinc, corporis viribus defectus, ad extremum usque spiritum ingemuit."—Mollieri *Cimbria Literata*, t. III., p. 136, sec. 35.

of tenets, rather than harmony of belief. His antagonists, however, persevered in asserting, that were such views admitted, there would be nothing to prevent men from adopting the wildest errors, or uniting themselves to the most obnoxious sects. They might become Romanists, or any thing else, against which the antient formularies could not be readily brought to bear; and it required but little knowledge of theology, or of the history of the Church, to show that innumerable heresies had sprung up in the ages succeeding those which gave birth to the three creeds. That this was no visionary apprehension, had been amply proved by the actual passing over of some of the followers of Calixtus to the Romish Church. But he could fairly answer, on the other hand, that such a conduct was by no means justified on any principles which he had advanced; and he had yet the further and very peculiar argument to urge in his defence, namely, that it was the long-established rule of the university to which he belonged, to demand of every professor, on his entering upon the duties of his office, a solemn declaration that he would exert his influence to the uttermost in the promotion of peace and concord among the professors of the gospel.

The controversies to which the opinions of Calixtus gave rise, did not cease with his death.* Syncretism, as it was called, continued for many years to disturb the churches, which it was the main object of the theory, so termed, to bring back to the primitive state of concord. A minute account of such disputes would be as little profitable as interesting; but the knowledge that they existed, and that they were pursued with a reckless indifference frequently to the interests of catholic truth, and yet more commonly in despite of justice and charity, is necessary to our acquaintance with the times of which we are treating. Calixtus has been blamed, even by those who express a profound admiration of his virtues and abilities, for undertaking a work far above the power of any single individual to accomplish, and for which his age had not the rightful characteristics to afford the

* Schröckh, t. iv., b. ii., p. 704. Henke Allgemeine Geschichte, t. iv., c. v., p. 254.

slightest prospect of success. Hence the attempt, however noble and generous in itself, was productive of harm.

It provoked many who would have remained silent to speak out in the language of fear and offended pride, and obeying the impulse of these feelings, they thereby widened the distance between the hostile churches. The causes of separation were multiplied a thousand-fold. Even the most distant hope of a reunion between the churches was represented as involving, in some way or the other, a disposition to heresy; and he, consequently, who talked loudest and most fiercely respecting the abominations practised by every party but his own, was regarded as the person chiefly to be depended upon in the defence of the gospel. The controversy ceased; but many of the impressious remained which were made by the strong, clear language employed in proving that no general communion could ever be looked for. Evil as this was in itself, it was rendered still greater by the novelties mixed up with many of the juster arguments of Calixtus. Thus we find intimations of a doubt respecting the plenary inspiration of the Bible, and a denial that the number of the sacraments could be determined either from scripture, or from the fathers. The being and unity of God, and other truths, usually comprehended in what is termed natural religion, were represented in his system as not properly articles of faith, seeing that they might be proved by reason, or the arguments which, aided by common knowledge, it could readily supply. As an instance of the speculative character of his notions, it is mentioned, that he described man as originally mortal, but endowed with immortality by the especial gift of God. His bold assertion respecting the divine origination of sin, though under certain limitations and conditions, still more clearly illustrates the daring character of his theories; and we may fairly deduce therefrom, that though his love of peace, and enthusiastic desire of union, merit the highest praise and admiration, a mind less readily moved by the sudden suggestions, ever multiplying themselves in the course of theological inquiry, would have been far better

calculated, if inspired by a proportionable degree of spirituality and benevolence, to work out the plan which he had vainly, though earnestly, traced.

The controversy arising from the views of Calixtus, had a close connection with many of the principles, naturally and essentially, belonging to the Christian Church. They could not be opposed in themselves, without controverting the best established rules of spiritual religion. This formed, at the same time, the stronghold of his party, and the stumbling-block of the most honest and conscientious of his opponents. But while the struggles of the more active and conspicuous men of the age were concentrated in the endeavour to work out some few apparently expedient plans, the efforts of another class of minds were directed to objects of a distinct and almost contrary character.

It was at this period that the Church of Christ saw a new effort made to contrast the world, with all its mighty interests, its visible grandeur, and practical wisdom, long now acknowledged as not necessarily opposed to spiritual things, with the solemn, permanent and substantial realities of the divine kingdom.

The history of pietism is confessedly involved in an obscurity properly answerable to the nature of the subject. A most important difficulty attending it arises from the doubts which have been thrown upon the actual existence of the thing itself. Mysticism, described by those who have claimed the privilege of enjoying its awful glories, as a divine vision, is spoken of by others as the mere shadow of a shade, as a notion created only by the most fanciful minds, and having neither type nor antitype. The language employed by opponents of this kind would lead us to doubt their capability of understanding any of the sublimer doctrines of a spiritual revelation, or their power of passing into the sanctuary behind the veil of visible being. Such reasoners, therefore, can hardly be regarded as qualified for entering the lists in a contest of this nature. They have nothing in common with those who take the opposite side. The first principles, the language, the most simple terms upon which any controversy can

be commenced, as employed by the one party, are foreign to the other. Hence we must look, not to the representations of writers who are the declared and violent opponents of mysticism, or its cognate systems, for the best arguments against whatever it involves of error, but to those who had so much in common with its authors, that they could clearly understand their language, enter into the meaning and spirit of their system, and try the worth of its supposed discoveries by actual comparison with the bright, substantial glories of a divine and comprehensive, yet most intelligible faith.

Mysticism existed in the Church at a very early period. It was almost impossible that such a system should not make its appearance soon after the establishment of the gospel. Religion, under any form, if very ardently embraced, carries the thoughts into a sphere so far apart from the visible world, that a new and strange effort of mind is required to bring them back into their ordinary course, or make them submit to the simple government of the understanding. This is not merely the result of religion as a stimulant to the imagination, but the proper effect of a system which buoying up the whole moral and spiritual being, lifting it out of the deep pit of sensuality in which it had been sunk, gives it a liberty, a power of willing and acting, which, however eccentric in its first operations, still proves the reality of the change wrought upon the soul.

Some minds will more readily than others recover themselves from what is startling in a great religious change. They will look down from the eminence gained with a keen and steady glance. Earthly things will appear in their just proportions, and the estimate taken of the several duties of life, and of the value of the objects for which labour is to be employed, will be at least as clear and exact as that given by the most skilful of worldly calculators. Minds thus acting, however deep and vital their faith, will not readily take part with mystics or pietists. They have heard in their innermost soul, "I pray not, that thou shouldst take them out of the world, but that thou shouldst keep them from the evil."

There are others, on the contrary, which remain entranced with the splendour of their hopes, the surpassing grandeur of the visions perpetually opening before them. To retain the same degree of vivid enjoyment which attended their earliest raptures is the great object of their lives, and to this end they readily subject themselves to the discipline best calculated to secure that stillness of heart so essential to continued meditation.

It is, however, among those whose speculative opinions often fill the mind with the highest expectation of noble results, that there have ever been found the worst specimens of hypocrisy or weakness. The annals of pietism are thus filled with miserable instances of folly, fanaticism and sensuality. Many good men have contemplated these examples of the weakness of such theories to sanctify their professors, till they have learnt to doubt, and shrink from, every pretension to inward light, or a peculiar apprehension of divine mysteries. The cold, worldly and unspiritual, on the other hand, have been encouraged herefrom to boast of their contempt of the workings of grace, and of the blessed testimony of the Holy Spirit to the reality of conversion, as a manifest proof of their superiority to error. Hence the history of every such party as that to which we are alluding, is involved in difficulty, and it requires an equal degree of caution, of spiritual feeling and good sense, to avoid sinning, on the one hand, against divine doctrine, and, on the other, against the relations and duties which belong to our present state.

By far the most eminent of the remarkable men engaged in the controversy respecting pietism, was the highly accomplished and devout-minded Spener. But before he entered upon his career, the attention of a numerous party had been engaged by the eccentric reasonings of a writer of very different character; this was the celebrated Jacob Boehmen, whose system, and the influence which it continued to exercise for two or three generations, claim an important place in the history of the human mind.

Two conditions are generally necessary to the develop-

ment of novel opinions. There must be men of a temperament fitted for their cultivation, and there must be something also in the character and disposition of the times creating a want of, or thirst for, new theories, and those of a particular order.

Both these conditions were answered at the period we are now describing. There were minds active and enterprising, bold and fervent as any that ever existed. The circumstances of the age seemed to demand their attempting something new. Zealous as the authors of the Reformation had been in the defence of the gospel, and anxious as they had proved themselves to be to bring mankind to the knowledge and love of spiritual truth, their habits of controversy soon produced a hardness of style, a confined, and, in a certain sense, a selfish view of both the doctrines and the precepts of religion, which rendered them powerless as popular instructors.

Pretensions immediately opposed to the spirit of this cold and controversial school of theology were sure to meet with attention from many anxious and distressed inquirers after truth. Such persons could not be made to believe that the knowledge which they possessed, though much valued as far as it went, was that wisdom from above to which they had looked for the deepest contentment and peace of heart, and successive supplies of inward strength. It enriched them with none of these blessings. They were still left to themselves; had no sensible communion with the family of heaven; and sighed in vain for the foretaste of the perfection after which they knew it was their duty continually to strive.

Of such a class Jacob Bœhmen had little difficulty in constituting himself the teacher.* This singular man

* A defence of Bœhmen's system was drawn up by William Law, by way of preface to a new edition of the philosopher's works. This edition did not appear till after the death of Law, and we have only the following curious fragment of the dialogue alluded to. "A Dialogue between Zelotes, Alphabetus, Rusticus and Theophilus; a Fragment:—"

"*Alphabetus*.—We are glad to see you, *Theophilus*, and the more so, because we began to despair of it. You have been so long, and so often put off this meeting, that it has been generally thought things were at a full stand with you, and that you was as unable to give up, as to defend your German enthusiast.

"*Theophilus*.—It will, perhaps, seem strange to you that I should begin with saying, that the principles which I am here to vindicate would need

was born in the year 1575, at Gorlitz, in Upper Lusatia. His parents being of the humblest class, his early years

no general apology to be made for them, but because they open and assert the true and plain ground from which all things proceed, and on which all things stand. For this should rather seem to be a reason of their needing no apology at all, than that it should be wanted every where. But if it be considered that all the different sects and parties of religion are but different opinions, built only upon the ruins of one another, and have no further or deeper knowledge than how to discover and confute each other's falsehoods, it must be plain, that if *truth itself* should, as they would all be equally demolished by it, so they would all have but one and the same reason to cry out bitterly against it, as equally the same enemy to them all.

"Was there a book published that only confuted some particular sect of men, all the rest of the learned and religious world would not only not be offended at it, but, according to their different degrees of zeal, wish it God speed. But when a book comes out in which truth comes forth as it is in itself, and in such an open, full manifestation, as not to lop off here and there a twig or branch, but to pluck up the whole root and tree of all errors, leaving it no ground to spring up again, such a book becomes a common scandal and offence to all, and all must unite in taking up arms against it: the heated enthusiast, the dry scholastic, the sagacious critic, the weighty commentator, the scribe and pharisee, every Methodist and Moravian leader, the orthodox ritualist, and the pathetic lecturer, will all contribute their mite of skill towards the demolishing such a dangerous invader of all their territories.

"This is manifestly the case of that depth and fulness of divine light and truth, opened by the grace and mercy of God, in the poor illiterate Bohmen, who was so merely an instrument of divine direction, as to have no ability to think, speak or write any thing but what sprung up in him, or came upon him, as independently of himself, as a shower of rain falls here or there, independently of the place where it falls.

"His works being an *opening* of the Spirit of God working in him, are quite out of the common path of man's reasoning wisdom, and proceed no more according to it, than the living plant breathes forth its virtues according to such rules of skill as an artist must use to set up a painted dead figure of it. But as the Spirit of God worked in the creation of all things, so the same Spirit worked and opened in the ground of his created soul an inward sensibility of it. His writings begin where the Spirit of God begun, in the first rise of nature and creation. They are led on by the Spirit of God, as it went on in the creation of angels and men, and all this material system of things. The all-creating Spirit of God which did and still does all in every birth and growth of life, opened its procedure in this chosen instrument, showing how all things came from a working will of the holy, triune, incomprehensible God, manifesting himself as a Father, Son and Holy Spirit, through an *outward perceptible working* triune power of fire, light and spirit, both in the eternal heaven and in this temporal transitory state of material nature. Showing from this eternal manifestation of God, in the unity and trinity of heavenly fire, light and spirit, *how* and *what* angels and men were in their creation; how they are in and from God his real offspring, and born partakers of the divine nature; how their life begun in and from this divine fire, which is the Father of light, generating a birth of light in their souls, from both which proceeds the Holy Spirit, or breath of divine love in the triune creature, as it does in the Triune Creator: showing how some angels, and all men are fallen from God, and their first state of a divine triune life in Him; what they are in their fallen state, and the difference between the fall of angels and that of man: showing also *what* and *whence* there is good and evil in all this temporal world, in all its

were spent in the occupation of a cow-herd. He was afterwards placed apprentice to a shoemaker, but had served only a portion of his term when he began to be visited with those spiritual dreams which determined his future course. The first circumstance, it is said, which led him to think deeply upon holy things, was the appearance of a remarkable-looking stranger in his master's shop, who after vainly persuading him to sell some shoes at a lower than the proper price, addressed him in these words: "Jacob, thou art little, but shalt be great, and become another man; such a one as the world shall wonder at. Therefore be pious; fear God, and reverence his Word. Read diligently the Holy Scriptures, wherein you have comfort and instruction. For thou must endure much misery and poverty, and suffer persecution; but be courageous, and persevere, for God loves, and is gracious to thee." Having said this, the story continues to relate, that the stranger, pressing his hand, looked at him with a bright and sparkling eye, and departed.

Whatever influence Jacob's own imagination might have in giving importance to the old man's visit, he appears from this time to have employed himself in religious exercises with increasing devotion. He heard it said from scripture, "If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask Him?"* This stimulated him to constant prayer for heavenly wisdom. At length, it is said, his petition was granted. "He was surrounded with a

creatures, animate and inanimate, spiritual and material; and what is meant by the *curse* that dwells every where in it: showing what are the natures, powers and qualities of all creatures; *what* and *whence* and *why* their numberless variety; what they have of good in them, and how they have it; *what* is the *evil* in them, and why there is such strife and enmity betwixt creatures and creatures, elements and elements; what is meant by it; to what *end* it works, and when it shall cease; *how* and *why* sin and misery, wrath and death, shall only reign for a time, till the love and wisdom, and the power of God shall, in a *supernatural way* (the *mystery of God made man*), triumphing over sin, misery and death, make fallen man rise to the glory of angels, and this material system shake off its curse, and enter into an everlasting union with that heaven from which it fell."

* Luke xi. 13.

divine light for seven days, and stood in the highest contemplation and kingdom of joys."

Notwithstanding, however, the mysterious privileges to which Jacob thus believed himself admitted, he continued to pursue diligently his humble and honest occupation. In this circumstance we find, at least, a proof of his sincerity, and of the fervency of his convictions. He was satisfied with the sweet sense of heavenly peace enjoyed in the secrecy of his own heart.* Less deeply

* That he continually looked for the evidence of truth, as inseparably connected with the state of his own being, is shown in many passages of his writings. "My beloved reader," he says, "if you would understand the high mysteries, you need not first put an academy on your nose, nor use any such spectacles, nor read the books of many artists and scholars; for the high mysteries are not to be sought after, searched out, and found only in the great schools or universities. Whatsoever reason seeketh in the art of this world, without the divine understanding, is vain and fictitious. It findeth nothing but this world, and not half even of that. It always goeth round about in seeking, and findeth in the end only pride and hypocrisy, in finding the wisdom of the world. Seek you nothing else but the Word and heart of God (which is incarnate or become man) in the crib, amongst the oxen in the stable, in the dark night. If you find it, you find Christ, (namely, the Word, in the Father,) together with the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Moreover, the eternal nature, also the angelical world and Paradise; and then you will find your reason, which has so long led you reeling as a drunken man, to be very blind. You need not break your mind with high thoughts, for with such high fancies and conceits you will not find the ground. Do but only incline your mind and thoughts, with your whole reason, into the love and mercy of God, so that you be born out of the Word and heart of God, in the centre of your life, so that his light shine in the light of your life, that you be one with him. For Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Eternal Word in the Father, who is the glance, or brightness, and the power of the light eternity, must become man, and be born in you, if you will know God. Otherwise you are in the dark stable, and go about groping and feeling, and look always for Christ at the right hand of God, supposing that he is a great way off. You cast your mind aloft above the stars, and seek God, as the sophisters teach you, who represent God as one afar off in heaven. But as the devil would (in his fiery source, or property) fly up above the heart of God, and yet remaineth still in the four forms, in the eternal nature, in the darkness; so it is also with blind reason, which sitteth in the dark, and seeketh God in the darkness. If you would find him, seek him in his source, or property, which is every where: all is full of God, and he shineth in the darkness. God is in your dark heart, though in another principle. Knock and it shall be opened unto you; the Holy Spirit of God is the *key* in the centre. Go out from the desire of the flesh, in a true, earnest repentance, and put all your will, reason, and thoughts into the mercy of God; and so the Word of God (namely, his beloved Heart) will get a form in you. And then you stand before the crib where Jesus is born; and then incline yourself towards the child, and offer him your heart, and Christ will be born in you. And then you must first into Jordan, and the Holy Ghost will baptize you; and there the heaven standeth open to you, and the Holy Ghost hovereth over you. But you must into the

assured of the reality of the visions that rose before him, he would never have imagined that they were sent to expend the whole of their brightness on his own soul. But for many years he seems to have formed no idea of making his state known, or communicating to others the revelations which filled his mind.

In this state he remained till his twenty-fifth year, when he was favoured with another vision, and saw himself surrounded, it is said, with new floods of light. This had a more wonderful effect upon his imagination than any previous occurrence of a similar kind. He went, says the story, to the Neys-gate, outside the town of Gorlitz, and sitting down there in the fields, he beheld the grass and the flowers by a wonderful inward light, and could clearly discern their whole secret structure; the mixed elements which wrought in them, and gave their nature its peculiar life and essence. Extending his contemplations, he saw the vast series of created beings spread before him in the same light, revealing their most concealed properties, and making him familiar with the very foundations of existence.

It was not till his mind had brooded long on the mysteries thus communicated to it, that he began to feel the importance of describing them in language, and putting them into a form which might enable his fellow men to share in his high and glorious privileges. Even then he wrote down his thoughts with but a distant view of publishing them to the world; and his first book, entitled, "*Aurora, or the Morning Redness,*"

wilderness, and be tempted of the devil (understand it right: the devil will make attempts upon you, and will often lead you into the wilderness of the world, and pass before thy soul into thy fleshly heart, and bar it up); and then great earnestness is required to break asunder the centre of the devil. You shall many times not see Christ; the devil will deny him to you, insinuating that he is not become man in you. For you stand thus, as a light in the centre, begirt with darkness, and you are a sprout in the light of God, sprung out of the dark, stern nature. Therefore consider, look to it, and stand fast, as Christ did. Do not as Adam did, who suffered himself to be brought into lust by the spirit of this world, and brought us into the fleshly darkness. You must, with Christ, be persecuted, scorned and condemned, if you will move in the wonders of God; and if you continue in him, he continueth in you. And then you may seek what you will, you will find whatsoever you desire. Else you seek in the Deity in vain; and when you have brought things to the highest, you find only that which is in this world."—*The Threefold Life of Man*, c. iii., sec. 29-36.

would perhaps never have made its appearance, but from its accidental discovery by a man of property, who read it with equal avidity and delight, and hastened to have it printed.

Scarcely, however, were Jacob's visions made public, when he became an object of supreme dislike to the superintendent of the church at Gorlitz. It was in vain that he pleaded his innocence of any intended offence; that his pious and sober life was spoken of by his friends; that he conducted himself with the utmost patience and humility. Nothing could soften the rancour of his powerful enemy; and the senate was obliged, at length, to banish him from the town. To this sentence he very quietly submitted, and retired to Dresden. There he was called before an assembly of learned theologians and officers of the government. Unlike his judges at Gorlitz, these his new examiners professed themselves well satisfied with his answers; and there were some among them of high rank who encouraged him to pursue his speculations, as worthy of the wisdom with which he believed himself inspired.*

He had refrained from writing for seven years. He now obeyed again the influences of the light which dwelt within him. His works obtained a ready and extensive circulation; and preparations were thereby made for the diffusion of opinions, the most ambitious and attractive, perhaps, that have ever occupied minds blending sincere piety with wild eccentricity. "His ground," it is said, in the language of eloquent enthusiasm, "discovers the way to attain, not only the deepest mysteries of nature, but divine wisdom, *Theosophy*, the wisdom of faith, which is the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen with the outward eyes. This wisdom brings our inward eyes to see such things as Moses saw in the Mount, when his face shone like the sun, that it could not be beheld; such things as Gehazi saw, when his

* Much doubt has been thrown upon the truth of this passage in Böhmen's history. It is very probable that some slight and partial instance of attention to his statements might be magnified by his friends into proofs of veneration. On the other hand, the truth of the statement seems borne out by the circulation which his works obtained both in Germany and other countries.

master, Elisha, prayed that his eyes might be opened, his inward eyes; for his outward were as open before, if not more, than any of ours, seeing he was servant to so great a prophet; so they were opened, and he saw angels fighting for Israel. Such things as Stephen saw, who saw Jesus sitting at the right hand of God, and his face shone like the face of an angel at his stoning; and Paul, who saw things unutterable in paradise, when his outward eyes were struck blind. Such wisdom as this sees and knows all mysteries, speaks all tongues of men and angels; that tongue which Adam named all the creatures by in paradise. It can also do all miracles, for the enjoyment of which men would give all their goods to the poor; so desirable a thing it is to enjoy it in this life. But whilst corruption sticks to the soul it must have charity, or else this seed of faith will not bear the fruit of eternal life in paradise for ever, where there is nothing but an eternal miracle, of which all miracles on earth are but in part; but when that which is perfect is come, then that which is imperfect shall be done away. This is the wisdom by which Moses wrought his wonders above nature, and all the prophets from the first to Christ. And it is that which our Saviour Jesus Christ himself taught his apostles and disciples, and which the Comforter continually teaches the holy servants of God ever since."

Again: "Thereby, also, the differences in religion may be so reconciled, that the minds and consciences of all doubting persons may be satisfied about the most difficult points relating to creation, corruption, salvation, and restoration, so clearly that all will love one another, and that hard lesson, to love our enemies, will be readily learnt; and men will quickly contribute to the studying that one necessary thing, that treasure hid in the field, that gold of the kingdom of heaven, that precious pearl, that all in all, faith and love, Christ and God; when they shall perceive that all this lies hid in every soul, in one measure or other, and may be found, and the way set down so plain, that every soul may find it. Thereby the writings of all

men will be understood, and the very darkest mysteries contained in the writings of the prophets and apostles will be made plain and easy to the most simple thirsty soul; and when that appears which is now hidden, when that excellent glory shall discover itself to men, they will not only see it, but walk in the way of it, and so attain it in the highest degree of every one's capacity.*"

* As opposed to this, we may give some of Bishop Horne's strictures on Mr. Law's opinion of Jacob Boehmen. "Either," says the bishop, "his scheme is a new revelation, or an explanation of the old. If the latter, why is it wrapt up in such mystic jargon, never heard of in the Christian world before, and not given us in Scripturo language, which is the only explainer of itself? If the former, it is an imposture and delusion; for extraordinary inspirations are not to be credited, unless vouched by miracles, which God always sent to attest his extraordinary commissions; and if they are pretended to come from him, and do not, then it is a demonstration that they come from the devil, 'transformed into an angel of light.' To equal the imaginations of men to the Holy Scriptures of God, and think them as much the inspiration of God as what was dictated as such to the holy prophets and apostles, is strictly and properly enthusiasm. This Mr. Law has done; for he says, he looks upon the writings of Jacob Boehmen to be no more human than St. John's Revelation."

In a letter to a lady on the same subject, he says, "So little encouragement is there to expect new lights and revelations in these times, that, on the contrary, if any man now pretend to be *some great one*, sent from God to enlighten the world, we are to suspect him for one of these impostors. Matt. xxiv. And as Jacob Boehmen has assumed such a character, the probability lies strongly against him, even before we examine his credentials.And, first, let us take a view of his style and method in general, which is not at all like that of the Scripture, but the reverse of it; for the Scripture is clear and uniform in its language, as coming all of it from the same Author, and addressing itself to the capacity of all mankind. Even where it is most obscure, as in the visions of Ezekiel, and the Revelation of St. John, it borrows ideas from the things that are before us, and takes the visible objects of the natural creation to express and delineate what is unknown or invisible; so that if you have obtained its meaning in one case, you will be able to unriddle it in every other case of the same sort: whence arises the great usefulness and necessity of comparing spiritual things with spiritual, that is, the Bible with itself, in order to comprehend them. But how different from all this is the style of Jacob Boehmen! His ideas are rarely taken from nature, but in general from the dark science of alchemy, in which he had dabbled till his brain was turned. Hence it is that we find so much about *ether, spirit, matrix, genitrix, essence, quintessence, essence of essences, tinctures, extracts, harshness, sourness, bitterness, attraction, fire-breaths, sugar of hell, salt, sulphur, mercury*, and others of the like sort, so abhorrent from the Scripture, that the very sound of them is sufficient to frighten any man but a blacksmith out of his senses. If I guess right, Paracelsus was the father of this jargon. He held it no crime to deal with the devil for the advancement of medicine and chemistry; and the chemical writers of succeeding times, after his example, have intermixed with their writings some of the highest mysteries of the Christian faith, veiled under the occult terms of their own wonderful science, to be understood only by adepts, such as Jacob calls *the children of the lily*, who, they pretended, were to be holy and pure

It may be readily understood from this passage how great an influence the mysticism of Boehmen exercised on men of ardent temperament. But it was not, as in the case of a mere imaginative enthusiasm, to his own dreams only that he appealed. His acquaintance, superficial though it was, with many philosophical systems, enabled him to touch on subjects the very mention of which to minds of a certain cast will ensure attention. There was, moreover, another quality in Jacob's reasonings, and one of which little notice has been taken: he mingled with his most unintelligible speculations sharp and sarcastic attacks on the religious parties of his day, and manifested a knowledge of men's follies and infirmities, which, without any other merit, would have secured him the favour of numerous readers. There was scarcely a sect, some characteristic of which did not form the subject of his satire, or bold denunciations. Later times have become familiar with the language which he used. It has been common to vilifiers of established institutions in every country, and has furnished the most shallow wits with the ready means of acquiring credit for penetration and vigour. So also zeal for spirituality has been trustingly ascribed to those who have designated churches and ordinances by the most odious appellations, teaching the ignorant and inexperienced to believe, that the outward can never have any thing inward to animate it, and that the heavenly and the human must necessarily be separated from all spot of iniquity; so that your author, with all his mysteries, is very far from being an original; and in his style and method is so opposite to sacred Scripture, that his language must not be imputed to the same author by any person who has rightly considered both....

"I might here add something upon his light of nature; which, as he has described it at large, is the great mystery of pagan enthusiasm, and the root of modern infidelity. His abominable pride, where he says, *we*, meaning *himself* and the *spirit* of God; with his frequent boastings of high and unutterable knowledge, meaning such stuff as I have just now repeated; the foul venom of his tongue, in railing at the authority of the Church, and all Christian divines from the days of the apostles down to his own, without excepting any that I can yet find, unless it be some of the primitive heretics, who were just such saints as himself: his ridiculous and anti-scriptural interpretation of words; for when the gospel has given us the important sense and interpretation of the name *Jesus*, 'For he shall save his people from their sins,' he goes to his deep language of nature, and declares with much pomp, that *Je* is his *humbling*, and the syllable *sus* presseth aloft through all."

sarily wage with each other eternal war, and that the presence of the former is the negation of the latter. But Bœhmen wrote in the simplicity of true enthusiasm. The thoughts to which he gave utterance were the offspring of his own ardent mind. He denounced systems, because his imagination carried him beyond the limits of their immediate utility; and he opposed their corruptions with wild and fanciful arguments, for he beheld them, not from the slightly elevated ground of human rectitude, but from the loftiest regions of speculative fancy.

“Thus,” he observes, “they say, that the devil cometh to man in the form of an angel; and it is true. Observe what he doth, that he is accounted an angel, and is accounted good. When the poor soul is thus disquieted, and many times presenteth to the body, death and the anger of God, he hindereth not that. He often lets the poor soul run with the body to the houses of stone, or whither it will. He puts it on most willingly of all to go to the stone churches, and there say to the soul, ‘Now thou art godly and devout, thou goest diligently to church.’ But what doth he then? When any teach of the temple of Christ, and of the new birth, then he soweth other thoughts into the spirit of this world, in man. Sometimes covetousness; sometimes he sets the eyes upon pride, state and beauty. Sometimes he catcheth the spirit with their lust; sometimes they are lulled fast asleep. But when the preacher is a sophister, and a malicious slanderer or railer; or, perhaps, many times in performance of his office, and from a good meaning, rebuketh men according to their deserts, then the devil sets open every door and gate, and tickleth the hearts of the hearers therewith, and the heart wisheth still more and more of that that is very fine to keep them from falling asleep. And when such people go from church, they can repeat every word very readily, and that best of all which tends to the disgrace of others. With that they feast themselves the whole week long. It is more acceptable to them than the Word of God. Behold, this is a devil in an angelical form. When they suppose that if they do but run to

church together, such a one is a very good Christian ; but if they have learnt no more but to scorn, mock and deride others, and bring it home to their families, it had been better they had all that time been wallowing in the mire, or that they had been fast asleep, and then the devil should not have defiled their souls in the church of stone with wantonness and scorn. O how happy a sleep it is in the church when the preacher inviteth the devil into the heart for a guest !”

Speaking of the sin of mere formal prayer, he says, “ There belongeth great earnestness to prayer, for praying is calling upon God ; to entreat him ; to speak with him, and to go out of the house of sin, and enter into the house of God ; and if the devil offer to hinder it, then storm his hell. Set thyself against him, as he setteth himself against thee, and then thou shalt find what it is which is here told thee. If he oppose strongly, then oppose thou the more strongly. Thou hast, in Christ, far greater power than he. . . . With such a devil as covereth the heart of man, there is no better course to be taken with him, than not to dispute with him at all about the multitude of sins, but to wrap up all sins on a heap, though they were as many as the sand on the sea-shore, and throw them upon the devil’s shoulders, and say, ‘ Behold, thou devil, thou art the cause of all this evil : I leave my sins to thee ; but I take the mercy of God, and the death of Christ to myself. Therein will I roll myself. Devour me if thou canst.’ ” *

By this mixture of rough satire, with earnest appeals to the spiritual-mindedness of the few, and the natural conscience of the many, he reached the feelings and understanding of large classes of his countrymen. Even the most mystical of doctrines, notions the farthest removed from common tastes and apprehensions, come sufficiently recommended when thus mixed up with the rough, caustic declamation so palatable to ordinary minds.

Jacob Böhmen proved the depth of his mystical apprehensions by his perseverance, to the end of life, in

* Of the Threefold Life of Man ; according to the Three Principles, c. ix., p. 133. London, 1650.

that course of inquiry to which he had been so strangely led. He appears to have secured the affection of a large circle of personal friends, and to have illustrated by his gentle and holy conduct whatever there was of practical instruction in the system which he taught. As death drew near, he spoke with increasing confidence respecting the foundation of his hopes. The pain of dying yielded to the belief that he was surrounded by angelic visitants. Calling to his son, Tobias, he asked him if he did not hear a sweet and harmonious music. On being answered in the negative, he told him to open the door that he might the better perceive it. He then asked the hour, and finding that it was but two o'clock, he said, "My time is not yet. Three hours hence is my time." Employing the interval in prayer, he exclaimed, "O, thou mighty God of Sabaoth, deliver me according to thy will! Thou crucified Lord Jesus, have mercy on me, and take me into thy kingdom!" It now being six in the morning, he bade adieu to his wife and son, and bestowing his blessing on them, said, "Now I go hence into paradise," and almost immediately after expired.

The leading points of Bœhmen's system may be easily traced, but it requires no slight exercise of ingenuity to follow his arguments, or discover the proper connection of his subtle illustrations with the awful mysteries to which they are applied. The strange fancies of the alchemists startle us with a stronger conviction of their absurdity, as they appear propping up the edifice of mysticism. No fable, which the slightest knowledge of science is not sufficient to expose, was rejected by Bœhmen in his endeavour to prove himself acquainted with the nature, essence and design of whatever exists. This was the almost necessary consequence of his state of mind. It had been roused to action by the most powerful stimulants. It claimed divine authority for its supposed discoveries; and it had the least possible quantity of sound philosophical knowledge, or general literature, to protect it from mistaking every childish guess, or seeming analogy, for a newly-discovered truth.

But this censure must be applied with far greater caution when attention is turned to those parts of Jacob's works in which he contents himself with employing his scriptural knowledge, or speaks only according to his experience of Christian holiness. Even these, unhappily, are mingled up with wild and daring speculations; but looked at in themselves, and apart from their metaphysical application, they prove that both the natural powers and the spiritual graces of the writer were of an extraordinary kind.

Jacob's appeal was, in the first instance, to the Bible; and he properly exhorted those who would understand its revelations, to seek the light of the Holy Spirit. But this plain doctrine of the gospel was immediately covered with a cloud of dark expressions. He insisted that, whatever is said, written or taught of God, is dumb, and void of meaning, without the knowledge of the signature. But he to whom the Spirit makes known the signature, understands the true mind of the Spirit, and understands more and more, "as the Spirit reveals itself, out of the essence, through the *Principium*, by the voice in sound."

The language employed in the evolving of his scheme is such as few but his followers would venture to adopt. Thus, speaking of the creation, he says, that God made all things out of nothing, and he himself is this nothing. More especially are the world and mankind made out of the being of God. Again: from him flow two principles, light and darkness, or love and anger. In him exist, besides the Trinity and the seven Spirits, many kings and princes.

Of Satan's fall we read, "Could not God have hindered and prevented the pride of Lucifer, that he might have abstained from his high-mindedness?" "This is a high question," it is answered, "on which all those lay hold that justify and plead the cause of the devil. But they are all cited to appear at the court of justice held for the trial of malefactors. Let them be cautious how they plead for their master, lest the sentence of judgment should be pronounced against him, and he will lose his crown." Further: "Behold, King Lucifer was

the head in his whole region, circuit or circumference. Also he was a mighty king, and was created out of the kernel or marrow of his whole region and circumference. Also, he would fain have kindled that whole circumference by his elevation, that so all might have burned, and qualified, or operated, as he did, in his own body. Though, indeed, the Deity, without or distinct from his body, would have meekly and gently qualified or acted towards him, and have enlightened and exhorted him to repentance. Yet now there was no other will in Lucifer, but that he would needs rule over the Son of God, and kindle that whole region or circumference, and in such a way himself would be the whole God, above and over all the angelical hosts or armies. Now, when the heart, with his meekness and love, made haste towards Lucifer, he despised it, and thought himself far better, and then stormed back again with fire and coldness, in hard claps of thunder against the Son of God, supposing he must be in subjection under him, and that he himself was Lord, for he despised the light of the Son of God."

To this, it is supposed to be said, "How had Satan such power?" and it is answered, "He had this power; for he was a great part of the Deity, and besides was from or out of the kernel thereof. He made an attempt also upon that king and great prince Michael, to spoil and destroy him who, at last, fought with him and overcame him, in whom the power of God, in Lucifer's kingdom, fought vehemently also against its king, till he was thrust down from his kingly seat as one that was vanquished." It is then suggested that God "should have enlightened his heart, that he might have repented." But it is answered, "No! he would receive no other light than his own, for he scorned the light of the Son of God, which did shine without, distinct from his body, seeing he had such a glittering light in himself, and so elevated himself more and more, till his water was quite dried up, and burnt, and his light was put out, and then all was done with him."*

Of the Book of the Three Principles, which Jacob

* P. 136, c. 14.

himself considered the key to his entire system, it is said, "A man cannot conceive the wonderful knowledge before he has read this book diligently through, which he will find to be contained in it. And he will find that 'The Threefold Life' is tenfold deeper than this, and 'The Forty Questions' to be tenfold deeper than that, and that to be as deep as a spirit in itself (as the author says), than which there can be no greater depth, for God himself is a Spirit."

It deserves to be remarked, that, notwithstanding the high spiritual pretensions of our Theosophist (the title by which he was best known among his admirers), he scrupulously avoided indulging the notion that he was endowed with the power of bestowing any share of his light in a miraculous manner upon others. He says, respecting the sources of knowledge, "The writings of the saints, and the children of God, tell us, that God created the world by his wisdom, and by the spirit of his mouth; and it is so; neither have we any other knowledge than that God hath revealed himself in his wisdom."* On some occasion, it is said, he was sitting alone, meditating, when a stranger entered his apartment, and introducing the subject of his spiritual revelations, offered him rich returns, in the way of money, if he would make known the secret whereby such high endowments might be obtained. Jacob answered the stranger, that "he accounted himself unworthy of the esteem of having those greater gifts and arts as was by him imagined, and that he only found in himself an entire love of his neighbour, and simple perseverance in the upright belief and faith in God. As for any other endowments beyond these, he neither had them nor esteemed them; much less enjoyed the society of any familiar spirit." Then addressing the applicant in a more hortatory tone, he said, "But if there be in you that desire of obtaining the Spirit of God, you must, as I have done, enter into earnest repentance, and pray the Father, from whom all good gifts proceed, and he will give it, and it will lead you into all truth."†

Had Boehmen always spoken in this manner, he

* The Threefold Life of Man, c. v., sec. 80.

† Life, p. xxi.

would have deserved a very different kind of fame to that which attended his labours. His piety and good abilities qualified him for becoming extensively useful among his contemporaries. But while he was guilty of awful presumption, "intruding into things which he had not seen," so also did he render himself ridiculous in pretending to peculiar wisdom when uttering notions which had either their original in such writers as Theophrastus Paracelsus, or were wanting in even the semblance of divine or intellectual power.

A system like that of Bœhmen's was not to be at once uprooted. It offered too many attractions to speculators of every class. The proudest of reasoners saw themselves defied in any attempt to speak of mysteries higher than those treated so familiarly by the Teutonic Theosophist. Men of the humblest ability on the other hand, were easily tempted, by seeing how much could be done, with little learning, to try their strength in the hitherto inaccessible paths of philosophy. The field opened to them was as wide as they could desire; and even the most fanciful suggestion was sure to obtain a certain meed of praise.

We have spoken of Bœhmen and his theory as occupying the most conspicuous place in the school of the mystics. But he was preceded by several writers of his own character of thought; and while mysticism was fast spreading among those who only panted after the revelation of things far removed from human comprehension, another class of men was laying the foundation of a system of infinitely greater importance, because influencing for permanent good the state of opinion and morals. Of Bœhmen's predecessors the most celebrated were Valentine Weigel, a man superior both in learning and other accomplishments to Bœhmen, but less endowed with the qualities which give the power of creating sects and parties. He died in 1588 at Tschopan, where he held the office of preacher, enjoying the esteem and affection of most of his contemporaries. It was at a later period that his opinions began to rouse attention. The first of his printed works appeared in the year 1611, that is, not till some time after Jacob Bœhmen had begun to astonish

the world by his fanciful notions. The titles of some of Weigel's works are indicative of that eccentricity of expression which exposed him to the suspicion of colder minds. Thus his sermons are described as drawn "out of the right catholic and apostolic ground, and fountain of Israel." Another work is entitled "A Dialogue concerning Christianity; that is, the Conversation of the three most famous Persons in the World, as, Auditor, Preacher, and Death." Another is called "The Golden Grasp; that is, an Introduction to the Knowledge of all Things without Error, to many highly learned unknown, and yet necessary to be known by all Men." Again: in 1621 there appeared a pamphlet of his under the name of "A short, but complete Proof, that at this time, in almost all Europe, there is no Chair in either Schools or Churches, whereon there is not seated a false Prophet, or a false Christ; a Deceiver of the People, a false Interpreter of Scripture, a blind Leader."

It is evident that much of Weigel's peculiar feeling was derived from the grief which he conscientiously indulged at beholding the coldness and numberless vices of the professing churchmen of his day. Few subjects have been considered more deserving the exercise of inquiring minds, than that which involves the question, how much we ought to ascribe to natural energy, and how much to the mere influence of circumstances, in the formation of characters remarkable for their peculiarities, or their greatness. At the time when Weigel wrote, there was one main circumstance to excite a mind ambitious either of distinction for itself, or of effecting good for others. This was, the manifest depression of religion and its interests. There were both room and cause for a bold exercise of individual energy. When the absolute force of the mind thus engaged is not sufficient for the undertaking, it is driven to those resources so readily furnished by enthusiasm. A new theory is created; arguments are gathered from remote analogies; restrictions to the application of particular rules are forgotten; and the severest and most authoritative language is employed to awe those who with difficulty yield to persuasion.

At the foundation of Weigel's teaching lay the important distinction between the literal and spiritual interpretation of Scripture. Christians, he said, who contented themselves with the former could not fail to be divided into countless sects; for every reader, according to this mode of study, would feel himself at liberty to determine the meaning of the Divine Word in conformity with his own notions. They, on the other hand, who formed their judgment from the belief which is of the Spirit, and from the inward state of the heart, remained immoveable. It is altogether in vain, he added, that we learn what men have written on heavenly subjects, unless we be taught by the Holy Spirit, and his anointing grace. "This teaching transforms, in one hour, a peasant into a doctor. The Bible is written for those only who have already an understanding prepared to receive its doctrines. When God works in us, so also must we, in order to hear his voice, subdue our minds, and await, in silence, his revelations, forgetting ourselves, and all things around us. Then will the inner eye perceive in a moment the invisible things of the Spirit."

Again: "The Word of God comes to all, if not outwardly by preaching, yet doubtless inwardly, and whosoever hears it, to him pertains also outward intelligence. There is an inborn light in every one, from which all knowledge flows. He who follows not this, treads the broad way to destruction, for he must believe what others say. There is, on the other hand, a false theology, frequent in universities, which is only employed about Biblical commentaries and other books. Thus the student learns of man, not from God; and we preach Christ before we know him ourselves. Many, indeed, there are who bind themselves by a solemn oath before God,* that they will learn nothing but what is contained in human books, in the symbolical writings, or such like compositions. These persons thank God that every thing in theology is so easy. True theology consists especially

* Vor Gott ein Sacrament thun, dass sie nichts anders lehren wollen, als was in Menschenbüchern, in Symbolischen Scriften, und dergleichen mehr, vorgeschrieben ist.

in the knowledge of one's self, that is, whereout, through whom, and to what end, man is created and ordained."*

It would have been difficult for Weigel's enemies to draw from statements like these, the accusations which were subsequently brought against him. A mind strongly impressed with the spirituality of the religion of Christ, will, even in its ordinary reasonings on the subject, express itself in language full of allusions to the opposition between the outward and inward world. When the conviction thus felt is personal, real and experimental, it will inspire a yet more fervent tone of thought; and Weigel appears to have possessed every characteristic of sincerity and earnestness.

But let a man of fervent temperament have succeeded, according to his wishes, in rousing the dormant feelings of those around him to a new exercise of thought, and let the period in which he lives be one of marked coldness and inferiority, he is exposed to almost irresistible temptations to stimulate the subject-minds of his followers to further efforts in the way of curious inquiry. We ought not to be surprised, therefore, on finding that Weigel intermingled with his devouter opinions many fanciful and dark conceits which proved that his feelings were not always under the same influence. Thus, of the person of Christ, he asserted, that his flesh and blood were not from earth, but from heaven, derived from the Holy Ghost, that we also in the same flesh might obtain heaven. In addition to this divine body he had also a visible and mortal, which suffered. Of original sin, he remarked, "that it is, in one sense, an accident, and, in another, a substance, because man, out of Christ, becomes possessed of a new and heavenly body. By faith, man falls away from himself, and is joined to God in Christ; whence a new-born child cannot sin. The dying of the members which are upon the earth, through the in-dwelling of Christ, is repentance, or justification. By the new birth, man becomes again one with the Spirit, both soul and body, for the body itself is thereby made new, and altogether other than it was. We must enter into union with each other in God, and that not only

* Schröckh, t. iv., b. ii., p. 676.

according to the Spirit, but according to the flesh and blood, bodily. So also must we be born of the eternal seed, which is no shadow, but a real being, and we must have Christ in us spiritually and bodily! There are two Eves, both sprung from man, the earthly comes out of Adam, the heavenly is God himself; it has borne the Son of God from eternity in the Trinity. This has borne Christ for us bodily into the world. The third Eve is the Christian Church, which was born out of the side of the heavenly Adam on the cross."

Of the sacraments, it is said, that they are high and excellent mysteries, but not productive of faith. Woe, therefore, to those who pretend to derive therefrom a necessary blessedness. They betray the land and the people, and set up a false and shameful Christianity. Baptism, he asserted, ought to be allowed to believers only, and that neither Baptism nor the Lord's Supper, in whatever sect received, can confer any other benefit than that appointed by Christ himself. Again: the outward man may confess before the priest; but it is forbidden to the inner man to seek or desire that absolution from a mortal which God only can bestow. A similar distinction is made as to some other points, and it is easy to perceive that, however pure and exalted Weigel's ordinary sentiments were, his mind had too readily yielded to the fascinations which attend the discovery of any species of superiority, of religious not less than any other.

Weigel and Boehmen may be considered as the authors of a distinct species of mysticism. Their system possessed sufficient novelty to attract, and hold enamoured, men who had rejoicingly cast off the fetters of superstition. It obtained the respectful notice of many far superior to its originators in learning and power of intellect, and continued to exercise a certain degree of secret influence long after the main pretensions of the scheme had been effectually set aside. This was not because it enjoyed an exemption from the measure of persecution to which new systems are usually subjected. Besides the contempt with which it was assailed by the sterner members of the orthodox party, and the remon-

stances that arose from the few who most earnestly desired the return of a pure and simple evangelical spirit, in some states, the writings of Weigel were collected, and publicly burnt, and other means were employed to warn the people against their dangerous tendency.

But while men of this character were arousing their contemporaries to a variety of eccentric efforts in favour of spiritual religion, others were about to appear who, with no less superiority to the cold theology of the schools, were prepared, both by sounder judgment and a purer knowledge, to advance the interests of the gospel. John Arndt* contributed very largely to the improvement most earnestly coveted by devout minds. Mysticism, as far as it had succeeded, had involved great numbers of persons in perplexities, from which they were little likely to issue as sound believers. But, on the other hand, the opposition made to it was, for the most part, calculated to reduce divine truth more and more to a level with the low notions of worldly minds; to deprive the gospel of all its warmth, its spiritual force and glory, and to bring men under subjection to the austere dominion of a rationalism more imperious in its demands on the mind and conscience. Such men as Arndt and Spener seem to have been endowed with the excellent gifts they possessed for the purpose of protecting spiritual doctrine from the dangers to which it was now exposed from two such opposite classes of reasoners. The former of these admirable men was born at Ballenstädt, in Anhalt, in the year 1555. Having studied the usual number of years at Helmstädt, Wittenberg, Basle, and Strasburg, he began at the latter place to perform the duties of an instructor, and his first efforts as a theologian were devoted to the Epistle to the Romans. His fame rapidly increased; and, after exercising the office of a preacher for some time in his native town, he was appointed to a similar situation in the city of Badeborn. There he remained till the Prince of Anhalt issued a decree forbidding the

* Guerike, b. ii., p. 1049. Schröckh, t. iv., b. ii., p. 451. The former of these authors styles Arndt the Fenelon of the Lutheran Church.

use of exorcism at baptism. Arndt immediately declared, that it was contrary to his conscience to submit to such an ordinance, and he justified his opposition by an appeal to the fathers of the first three centuries ; to the example of the whole orthodox Church, and to Scripture itself. In consequence of this resistance, he was deprived of his pulpit ; but his merits and piety were too conspicuous to allow of his remaining long unemployed. He received successive calls to Quedlinburg, Brunswick, Eisleben, and Zelle, at which last place he died in 1611, having been appointed the same year to the honourable situation of superintendent-general. Many things may be discovered in the writings of Arndt, which savour of the style of Weigel and his followers. This was sufficient to excite against him the suspicion of those who trembled lest the Church might soon be overrun by the rank weeds of mysticism. It was enough to make him at once an object of hatred to those who could bear with no attempts to give new vigour to the gospel in its deeper applications to the heart and conscience.

The most celebrated of Arndt's writings are his four books on True Christianity. This work contains the greater part of his system of theology, and is eminently distinguished by a clear insight into the sources of human sin and folly, and by a corresponding knowledge of the means whereby they are most effectually to be resisted. "Nothing," he says, in his preface to this book, "could more strongly prove the shameful misuse of the gospel in his days, than the scandalous and unchristian lives of those who were so ready to boast themselves of Christ and his Word. The contemplation of this frightful inconsistency had urged him, he adds, to write the present work, in which he proposed to show, that true Christianity consists in the proof of a real, living and active faith, as indicated through genuine piety and the fruits of righteousness. We are named after Christ, not merely because we believe in him, but because we live in him and he lives in us. True confession proceeds from the innermost ground of the heart ; thus heart, sense and mind must become

changed, that we may be made like unto Christ, and, through the Word of God, be daily renewed according to the new creature. Then, as every seed produces its like, so must the Word of God in us bring forth daily new spiritual fruit; and as we, through faith, become new creatures, so must we, also, live in the new birth. In a word, as Adam dies in us, so Christ shall live in us. It is not enough to know the Word of God; we must bring it into living, actual practice. Many suppose that theology is a mere science, or disputative art, whereas it consists in a living experience and practice. Men now study it that they may become great and celebrated in the world, not that they may be holy. So, also, the world runs after those who are distinguished for their high attainments, and from whom art, eloquence and wisdom may be gained; but from our only Doctor, Jesus Christ, no one is ready to learn gentleness and true humility, whereas his holy and living example is the right rule and guiding string of our lives; yea, it is the highest wisdom and art, and we may properly say, that the life of Christ can teach us all things. Every one would willingly be a servant of Christ; no one will be his follower. But he himself says, "If any man serve me, let him follow me." * A true servant and lover of Christ, therefore, must be a follower of Christ. He who loves Christ, loves, also, the example of his holy life, his humility, gentleness, patience, the scorn and contempt which he suffered, however opposed it be to the will of the flesh."†

Deeply spiritual and practical, as is the reasoning of Arndt, he handles in regular and systematic order the great topics of theology. In his first chapter, he treats of the image of God in man. This, he says, is the conformity of the human soul, of the understanding, spirit, mind, will, of all the inward, and outward body-and-soul strength, to God and the Holy Trinity, and to all their divine attributes, virtues, will and properties; according, that is, to the first decree of the triune God, "Let us make man in our image."

* John xii. 26.

† Das Erste Buch vom Wahren Christenthum, sec. 1, 2.

The fall of Adam is next considered, and immediately after the recovery of lost mankind in Christ. Prayers are appended to the several chapters, and many of these devotional pieces are of great force and beauty. Few can be found superior to that for deliverance from the old man of sin. "Oh thou great and terrible God! to thee I cry out of the deep, and pour forth the laments of my heart. Thou didst create me to be a light in thee, but through the fraud of Satan, and mine own neglect, darkness has covered my understanding round about. I can of myself comprehend nothing that pertains to the Spirit of God. It is foolishness to me, and I cannot perceive it. There is, therefore, no true fear of God before mine eyes. Instead of seeking and loving thee, the highest good, I turn my back to thee instead of my face. I am sprung of a sinful race, and in sin did my mother conceive me, so the thoughts and intentions of my heart have been only evil from my youth up. I am a child of wrath, a wretched, perverted, apostate creature, becoming more and more rebellious every day; and, what is most wretched, unable to perceive my wretchedness. All the strength of my soul is gone. I love darkness more than light. 'I find a law, that when I would do good, evil is present with me.'* 'Oh wretched man that I am! Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?' My God! I know well that thou, most pure, and most holy, canst have no fellowship with one so base and polluted. Therefore must all necessity, and sorrow and misery be mine. Yea! I must have been separate from thee through all eternity, and must have mourned and perished in my sins, unless thy mercy had provided for me the means of salvation. Gracious God! Thou who hast mercy over all thy works, let not the creation of thine hand perish. Break thou the bands of death wherein I am held. Give me a true knowledge and feeling of my misery, and let it work in me a heart-felt humility, inward mercy and pity towards my neighbour, ardent supplications for him, mistrust of my own strength, and most earnest desire for thy grace and help. So free me also, Oh my God! that this wicked sinful disposition

* Rom. vii. 21.

may no longer reign in my mortal body, holding me captive to its lusts; but give me strength and resolution to crucify the flesh with all its affections and desires, so that the sinful body may no longer exist, and that I may cease to serve sin. At length deliver my soul out of this prison, and free me from this death, that I may live eternally, and proclaim thy grace and truth, my God and my Saviour, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

Arndt's statements of doctrine are imbued with the most earnest and affectionate spirit. The feeling of interest which they inspire is considerably increased by our knowledge of the fact, that they were made at a time when truths of such a character, proclaimed fully and clearly, were absolutely needed to save the Church from sinking into utter lethargy. Arndt had two objects in view; the one, to give again that prominence to evangelical doctrines which they possessed in the more prosperous days of the Reformation; the other, to demonstrate the necessity of a life of holiness, answerable in all its parts to the particulars of divine truth as revealed in Christ. By this union of a practical design with reasonings, eminently calculated to place the Christian faith in its most proper light, he prepared the way for a better system of theology than could have been looked for, while so great a majority of divines confined themselves to controversial technicalities. Nothing can better prove the high claims which Arndt possessed to the admiration of his contemporaries, than the manner in which he keeps in perfect combination the two parts of his design. Few indeed are the writers who have approached him in this excellency, and at the period when he wrote there was no little danger in making the attempt to which he devoted himself. His zeal for the practical application of divine truth exposed him, on the side of those from whom he could most confidently look for sympathy, to occasional suspicion. The very completeness of his exhibitions of the gospel, of its doctrines and requirements, was a stumbling-block to men who had become enamoured of their own partial views; and it is not less surprising than comforting to find, that, with so many obstacles in his way, he succeeded, as far

as he did, in recovering so much of the lost ground of evangelical earnestness.

"True Christianity,"* it is said, "consists only in pure belief, in love, and in a holy life. But holiness of life arises from genuine confession and repentance, and from self-knowledge, whereby a man becomes daily acquainted with his defects, daily corrects them, and acquires, through faith, a share in the righteousness of Christ. Would you experience this in yourself, beloved Christian? Then must you live in the filial, humble fear of God, and not be ready at all times to do that which is pleasing to the flesh. 'All things are lawful unto me, but all things are not expedient,'† says St. Paul. That it, all things do not profit. As a child in the house of its parents will not venture to do in its own freedom all that it would wish to do, but must fear before his father, and have an eye to his good pleasure, so also must a true Christian, and child of God, correct his inclinations by a holy discipline, must neither do nor speak any thing without the fear of God, as a well-taught and obedient child looks to his father when he would say or do any thing, and does all with reverence. Most people resign themselves, without regarding God, to worldly pleasures. But better is it always to have the fear of God in the heart, than to live continually in worldly delight. This fear of God is the origin of much devotion, and of much wisdom, but the vain pleasures of the world destroy divine wisdom, all devotion, all fear of God. Through daily repentance and crucifying of the flesh, we are daily renewed,‡ and such renewals bring with them heavenly joy, while the joys of the world leave behind them nothing but remorse and the worm that never dies." . . .

"Happy is the man who can be sad with a godly sorrow, and rejoice with a spiritual and heavenly gladness. Often do we laugh lightly and wantonly when we should weep. There is no true freedom or joy but in the fear of God and a good conscience. But a good

* B. i., c. xx., sec. 1-7. The heading of this chapter is, *Durch Christliche, wahre Reue wird das Leben täglich gebessert, der Mensch zum Reiche Gottes geschickt, und zum ewigen Leben befördert.*

† 1 Cor. vi. 12.

‡ 2 Cor. iv. 16.

conscience cannot exist without belief and a holy life. Faith and godly repentance through the Holy Spirit daily corrects our faults. He who does not daily correct his faults, misses the most perfect good in this life; strives against the new birth, hinders the progress of the kingdom of God, and cannot be freed from the blindness of his heart."

Of salvation, it is said,* "As a good master-builder, when he is preparing to erect a lofty edifice, first lays a deep and solid foundation, so our gracious and merciful God, when he would raise the mighty and eternal structure of our salvation, placed the foundation, in the depth of his mercy, on the firm and everlasting ground of the person and office of his own dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, the true rock of salvation that cannot be moved;† which foundation and rock the Lord described to St. Peter as that upon which he would build his Church, and as being so firm that the gates of hell should not prevail against it."

"But as our gracious, loving, heavenly Father had laid the foundation of our happiness and righteousness in the deep abyss of his mercy, in his eternal love, in his dear Son, in his most tender Father's heart, so has he also placed the same in the depth of our heart, in the innermost ground of our soul; in order that through the new godly light, and the strength of faith which he works in us by the Holy Spirit, the righteousness of Christ alone may be comprehended, and imputed to, and bestowed upon us, through grace, without regard to our works, whether past or future. And, truly, in order that he may thoroughly justify man, and from the ground of his soul, as man in the innermost faculties of the soul, and to its lowest and most secret depths has been poisoned by Satan, our righteousness must of necessity proceed from faith alone, for God works this, in order that it may depend on him only, and not on outward human doings, or hypocrisy, as the righteous-

* B. ii., c. iii., sec. 1-7. Dass unsere Gerechtigkeit vor Gott allein bestehe in dem vollkommenen Gehorsam und Verdienst Jesu Christi, und in der Vergebung der Sünden, welche der Glaube erzeuget.

† Isa. xxviii. 16.

ness of the Pharisees, which was outward only, and had no place in the ground of the heart.

“Further, that our heart, spirit, and soul may wholly renounce their own mere natural strength and means, to which the deceits of Satan, and their own learning, self-love, and pride incline them, and may, on the contrary, cast their whole dependence on the precious merits and sufficiency of Christ, from which alone, through grace, flows the forgiveness of all our sins, since Christ Jesus only has atoned for the sins of the world, and satisfied the Father. Again: in order that the righteousness of Christ may become ours by faith, therefore hath he, through his Word and Spirit, wrought and kindled faith in our hearts, that we may become partakers of this unspeakable treasure. And this is the highest, the most incomprehensible consolation, that our righteousness is not that of a man, or of a great lord, or even of an angel, but of Christ, and of God. ‘It is God that justifieth.’ Therefore if the sins of a man were great enough to fill the whole world, yet are the merits of Christ greater; for he is God, our righteousness. Can sin be mightier than God? It is as if a man owed two shillings, and paid his creditor with a thousand times ten thousand pounds of gold. Such is the blood of Christ, which St. Paul calls the blood of God, when reckoned against our guilt. So great is the righteousness of Christ which he bestows on us, through faith, and in such a manner that we not only become righteous through him, but righteousness itself.”*

“Moreover, although our first parents, in their innocence, had a perfect righteousness, yet had they not so high and overflowing a righteousness as we have in Christ. For the righteousness and holiness which he imparts to us, through faith, are far greater than Adam could have transmitted to us, had he never fallen, but remained steadfast in purity. So also has Christ become well-pleasing to God, by a higher humility and obedience than Adam’s, he being worth more than a thousand Adams, even in a state of innocency. And although

* 2 Cor. v. 21.

Adam had made us heirs of his righteousness, and united us in the same, yet is the union which we have with God in Christ much closer, since Christ became man, assumed our human nature, and brought it into such strict conjunction with himself as it never enjoyed in Adam. Once united with him, humanity remains eternally united with him; and in the same manner every individual believer. Thus Christ is altogether ours, and we are altogether his. And so pure as he his own human nature made, in his own person, so pure has he our nature made before God, which we in the revelation of that day shall experience, when our mortal bodies shall become like to his glorious body."

Of the importance of prayer Arndt repeatedly speaks in the strongest terms.* Having shown from Scripture how ready God is to hear our petitions, he says, "He who is not moved hereby must have a heart of stone. He who believes it not has a graceless heart, and is not worthy the name of man. This is not denied; wherefore then believe we not? Or why do we not pray? Why are we not heard? Or why do we not obtain the Holy Spirit? Simply for this reason: We do not pray in a right faith; we do not silently and patiently wait for God. A right faith holds God in still and deep tranquillity. But he who doubts is faithless, and renders his prayer of no avail; for God can give him nothing. On the other hand, he makes God a liar, and powerless, as if he either would not or could not give that which we need. These are two wicked features. Faith, on the contrary, keeps the heart still; makes it capable of godly graces. God requires nothing of man but the Sabbath; rest from all his works, especially from himself. Our spirit and mind are like water, over which the Spirit of God hovers without ceasing. When it once becomes tranquil, and is agitated by no wind of temporal cares, God remains therein, and speaks his mighty Word in that still water. This view is better and nobler than the whole world.

* It is the especial subject of the thirty-fourth chapter, *Wie ein Mensch durch das Gebet die Weisheit Gottes suchen soll*, and which is itself divided into twelve chapters.

Still waters are soon warmed by the sun, but quick and rushing streams scarcely ever. The unbeliever robs God of his honour, and his name of truth and faithfulness. A Christian is thereby reduced to heathenism; and if he remain therein is certainly and eternally condemned."

The necessity of a simple dependence on divine grace in prayer is further shown, in a chapter devoted to the subject. "If a man pray on account of his piety, or holiness, he remains not in the middle path, and in simplicity, as a child, but turns himself to the right, runs before Christ, as a thief and murderer; steals from him his due honour, since he alone is our righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, and ascribes it to his own vain works, as if there were any merit in man, and not in Christ alone; or as if God would hear prayer on account of human works, and not on account of his Son."

"As little as we can help the sunshine, so little can our works help the grace of God. Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Elias, were all blessed by the grace of God, and had learnt to say, 'Enter not into judgment with thy servant.' Suppose, however, that some one should cease to pray, because, impressed with the recollection of his sins, he considers himself unworthy and unholy, he leaves the middle path, falls to the left hand, as the other to the right, is overwhelmed with grief and misery and offences against the Son of God; and if he continue in this path, yields at last to despair, as if the sufferings and death of Christ were not sufficient for the sins of the whole world. In such a case, let us comfort ourselves with words like this: 'If our sin be great, yet greater is the mercy of God; for where the offence abounded, grace did much more abound.' Our misery appeals to God's mercy; our weakness to his strength; our unworthiness to his glorious majesty; our unrighteousness to his righteousness. It is a dear and precious word that 'Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners,' and, 'As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the sinner, but rather that he should turn from his wickedness and live.'

"Should I refrain from praying till I find myself worthy, or able, I should never pray. Should God refuse to afford me help till I become holy, or righteous in myself, then would he never give me that of which I stand in need. My friend! what wilt thou give to him who has no want of thy gifts? what wouldst thou merit at the hand of God, with all thy trifling works and piety? Nothing! Vanish all work-righteousnesses, and let all creatures be silent before him. Thy worthiness helps thee in no wise; thine unworthiness injures thee in no wise. Christ has covered, and forgiven it. Therefore learn to say, 'As a drop of water in the sea, so are my sins to the incomprehensible grace of Jesus Christ. O! gracious God, and merciful Father, thou who teachest me in thy Word, how I should walk in Christ thy Son, that I may continue in the middle path, and fall neither to the right nor to the left; that is, that I may neither be self-righteous, nor sink into despair, nor continue in wickedness, and so die in my sins; teach me earnestly to consider how my own worthiness cannot forward me, nor my great sins hinder me in Christ Jesus. Then shall I remain steadfast in all my struggles, nor ever be overcome by the fair devil, called vanity, which destroys in the noonday. Let me not tremble before the horrors of the night, or the pestilence which walketh in darkness; so shall I not sink under the load of my sins, but grow strong in the joyful trust of faith. This begin, continue, and fulfil in me, I beseech thee, O Lord Jesus Christ!'"*

These passages from Arndt's most celebrated work, will serve to show some of the peculiarities of his style, and the main objects of his theology. Nothing could have been more opposed to the favourite authors of the schools, and he was accordingly assailed by a host of opponents who accused him of advocating a system which exhibited the combined errors of Popery, Calvinism, Flacianism, and all the worst novelties that had lately appeared to corrupt the Church. To these accusations Arndt was contented that the readers of his

* B. ii., c. xxxiv., sec. 9. Beten wegen eigener Würdigkeit ist so grosse Sünde, als gar nicht beten wegen vorbegangener Sünde.

book, warmed and edified by a spirit of evangelical faith, should make answer for him. He remained undisturbed, well satisfied with the happy effects which daily followed the more earnest study of those scriptures to which his writings made such a new and powerful appeal.

But to the great comfort of Arndt and his followers, he was not left alone in this work. Other divines appeared who assisted in restoring a spiritual tone and feeling to the language of theology. Among these the most frequently mentioned is John Gerhard, a learned professor of divinity at Jena.* His "*Loci Theologici*," and more especially his "*Schola Pietatis*," and "*Meditationes Sacræ*," were read with great eagerness by those who saw in what peril the majority of Christians stood through the coldness and indifference of their teachers.

John Valentine Andrea, abbot of the monastery of Bebenhausen, was another of the excellent men of this period who employed their gifts and opportunities in the same direction. He observed with equal keenness and sorrow the errors of the time, and while he opposed them by frequent and solemn addresses from the pulpit, he did not refuse the meaner helps furnished by any of the materials of ridicule and satire.† The best proof, perhaps, that can be given of the sincerity of his devotion to the cause of the gospel is the fondness with which he was always accustomed to speak of Arndt. To that venerable man he ascribed his acquaintance with the gospel, and he delighted to acknowledge and address him as a father.

But much as was now being done to awaken a better spirit in the Church, more was still required. There was need of a man who should possess the comprehensive mind of a true theologian, with the graces of a popular preacher, and the qualifications necessary to a faithful and efficient pastor. By God's mercy such a man was

* Guericke, b. ii., c. ii., p. 1050. Schröckh, t. iv., p. 455.

† His works were illustrated by engravings from his own designs, and both the text and the illustrations are considered to afford good specimens of wit. The best known of his writings are the *Reipublicæ Christianæ Descriptio*: *Civis Christianus*: *Menippus*: and *Mythologia Christiana*.

raised up to carry forward the work which Arndt, and a few others, had lately commenced.

Spener was born at Rappoltsweiler, in Alsace, in the year 1635. He pursued his studies under the most distinguished scholars of the time, and acquired that reputation for extensive learning* which characterized so many of the theologians of this period. But he had a mind, the spiritual dispositions of which gathered strength from a culture that had been little favourable, in other instances, to the growth of evangelical faith. Several journeys into France and Switzerland made him acquainted with the general state of religious feeling, and in 1664 he took his degree of doctor in divinity, about two years after which he was invited to occupy the honourable post of senior of the evangelical preachers at Frankfort.

The style of preaching, we have seen, had degenerated in his time into the cold and formal manner which has commonly the effect of making ordinary hearers doubt the sincerity of the teacher, or the worth of the doctrine. It is easy to ascribe this at once to a general decline in the earnestness of the clergy. To no slight degree, it is certain, we should be right in doing so. But the character of sermons may be greatly deteriorated in the qualities of fervency and unction without proving a loss of piety, or zeal, proportionable to the commonness of this change. There are seasons in which it may be the conscientious conviction of the best of men, that plain, didactic instruction is more needed than any appeal to the feelings. Their example will be followed by others, and a style formed which, however useful at certain periods, will almost necessarily degenerate into the cold and harsh, the instant it loses even the slightest portion of those milder graces conferred on it by the sincerity and thoughtfulness of its originators.

Spener's discourses offered to a people wearied with dry dissertations, the nourishment now become essential to the revival of spiritual life and feeling. He took the

* The variety of his acquirements is proved by the curious fact, that he was the first writer in Germany on the science of heraldry.—Schröckh, t. viii., b. iii., p. 256.

scriptures, and expounded and reasoned upon the doctrines they contain, in the language and with the wisdom of love. Anxious hearers soon gathered round him; he convinced them of the necessity of admitting truth into the heart; of yielding their affections to its influence, and reducing its rules to practice. The critical systems by which other preachers had for a long time thought it necessary to model their sermons, in vain opposed themselves to the simple energy of Spener's zeal. He described in order the doctrines and rules of Christianity, but the order which he observed still left him free to introduce whatever topics were best adapted to win the regards of his auditory. Objections have been made to his style, and to the length of his sermons. They are those, however, which subsequent readers, rather than the original hearers, have started. The discourses which weary persons indifferent to the main object of the preacher, are full of power to those who dwell on his lips as pouring forth the Word of life. Spener was eminently successful in his own labours; but he soon procured a large body of coadjutors. The sentiments which formed the animating principle of his system were diffused throughout the Protestant Churches. Evangelical religion re-appeared in its most conspicuous forms, and the traces of Spener's exertions were destined to remain when some of the bulwarks of the Reformation, then most depended upon, should have almost crumbled away.

It was at Halle that Spener found his wishes and designs most readily understood. There appeared Breithaupt, Francke, Anton, and, at a somewhat later period, the not less distinguished Joachim Lange. The last of these revivers of Christian theology published a treatise entitled, "*Oratoria Sacra, ab Artis Homileticæ Vanitate repurgata, qua, Præmissa dicentis Habilitate, præter Methodium publicæ cum Fructu docendi, etiam de Usu Verbi privato, nec non de Præjudiciis Concionatorum ex vero agitur.*" A great improvement was effected by the clearer views thus given of the proper objects of pulpit exercises. Still more was done by the custom, sedulously followed wherever Spener's party possessed any influ-

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ence, of reading large portions of scripture, accompanied by commentaries adapted to the capacity and immediate wants of the hearers.

Another means was also employed by Spener to re-awaken that devotional spirit without which even truth itself will exercise but a transient influence. He held prayer-meetings at his house, and gathered around him a number of persons who readily confessed, that the common aids afforded them by the church were not sufficient to keep them in a state of mind necessary to the life of holiness.* In these meetings Spener usually referred to the discourses which he had last delivered in the church; and by copious extracts from them, with additional observations, he permanently infixed in the memory of the persons assembled the most important lessons of his ministry.

The associations thus formed acquired the title of "Collegia Pietatis," and became, to a large degree, influential in the creation of that more earnest feeling which had been so long needed in the Protestant congregations. In addition to the prayers and observations made by Spener himself, in the meetings at his house, the company were called upon to state their own sentiments on the portion of scripture which he read for that purpose. Clearly understood as his views and intentions were, these exercises were followed by none of the abuses which, under other circumstances, there is sufficient reason to apprehend. Spener's main object was known to be so entirely removed from those which excite pride, or curiosity, or favour a selfish love of independence, that the society which he formed was amply satisfied with the wholesome knowledge derived from its meetings, and the evident increase of its members in Christian virtue. Spener's own mind was indebted to the exercises in which it was thus employed for much of its most valuable acquirements, and it does

* The evil thus referred to has been considerably increased in our own times, by the very general neglect of the helps offered in the stated services of the Church. The author ventures to refer to a pamphlet of his own on the subject, entitled, "An Address on the Duty of attending Week-day Services in the Church."—Rivingtons.

not seem difficult to trace their influence on many of his views, as they are described in his practical writings.

But though the judgment of Spener himself was sufficiently sound and influential to preserve these meetings from abuse, assemblies of the same kind gathered together in other places, produced so much uneasiness and disturbance, that the pastors of the several towns, in which they were becoming common, found themselves constrained to suppress them; and greatly to the disappointment of the pious men who had seen in such meetings the happy opportunity of exciting a thoughtful and devotional spirit, they were accused of holding them at the sacrifice of good order and discipline. Spener defended the custom against the censures thus passed upon his proceedings. He had received ample practical proofs of the utility of his system; but it is impossible to deny that there was much of truth in the suggestions of his opponents. The opinions started on both sides are deserving of attention, not only on account of the general importance of the subject, but as illustrating the state of feeling which prevailed at the time, and the ideas entertained by both the clergy, and the people, on the best means of promoting the interests of the gospel.

It is the noble characteristic of genuine zeal and piety, not to allow opposition to act as a discouragement to the execution of their well-formed purposes. Spener saw the necessities of the Church, and he was resolved to persevere in making them known to others, trusting that the prayers and exertions, which would follow therefrom, would not fail of the divine blessing. His writings soon obtained a considerable circulation, and he began to be regarded generally as a reformer of the Church, and of the religious character of his age. From the responsibility involved by a reputation of this kind, he shrunk with the timidity of a delicate, and the unfeigned humility of a pious, mind. "I am not guilty of the absurdity," he says, in a letter to a friend, "of viewing myself in the light of a reformer. I know my weakness too well, and that I have neither the power

nor the wisdom proper to such a character. It is enough for me that my voice can make itself heard among others, prepared to forward the work of the Reformation, and urged thereto by the Lord. In such a position, therefore, I need no party, nor do I wish to draw others around me. There is no necessity, however, that I should break with those theologians, of whom I have reason to entertain good thoughts and hopes, or who have never, apparently, resisted, in the slightest degree, the cause of godliness. Much rather would I draw them by good will, and, by every means and method that is not opposed to conscience, uphold their resolution, that so my plans might be somewhat promoted by their sympathy, or that they might be rendered the more diligent in the duties of their own station, or, at least, be prevented from maliciously opposing others in their Christian undertakings.”*

On another occasion he writes: “I know well enough, not only that the Reformation cannot be the labour of one man, but that I am neither the best qualified, nor among the best qualified, to bring to pass that which God intends for his Church, wanting, as I do, the gifts necessary to such an object. I have already more honour than I deserve, in that God has so widely blessed my ‘*Pia Desideria*,’ that the work, as with a loud voice, has awakened others, I will not say to learn somewhat from me, but to meditate on things more carefully, according to the gifts which they have from God.”

In the year 1686, Spener was appointed to the high office of chief court-preacher, with its many attendant dignities, at Dresden. The opportunities of carrying on the work so dear to his heart were greatly increased by this his elevation. Nor did he waste any part of the precious season allowed him for labour. But the difficulties of his position were in proportion to the more extended views, and the larger means, which it afforded him. He had to struggle against a host of new opponents,—men who could hardly be made to understand that discipline, churchmanship, and genuine piety may be found among those who feel it their duty to

* Schröckh: *Theologische Bedenken*.

attempt much against the pride, confidence, self-sufficiency and indifference of parties grown old in the possession of power and luxury. But Spener, zealous as he was, did not fail in the exercise of judgment; and his indisputable ability, and genuine piety, obliged the bitterest of his opponents to exercise some degree of caution, and even of mildness, in their treatment of his opinions. Thus he found himself in a condition to effect many important reforms in the general system of public religious teaching. Catechetical lectures, and careful expositions of the scriptures, became, for the first time, common through the electorate. To secure, moreover, a sufficient body of preachers who should be both able and ready to follow his method, Spener introduced into his own house a number of young men intended for the ministry; and these he instructed himself, and with all the care which his intense anxiety for their future usefulness inspired.

In 1689, Herman Franke, who had enjoyed the advantage of a residence under Spener's roof, with John Caspar Schade and Paul Anton, began a regular course of lectures on the New Testament, in the university of Leipzig. These lectures were of a popular and practical character, and intended not to set aside the study of theology in its higher and more recondite branches, but to supply that indispensable requisite to the education of the clergy—instruction as to the power and application of divine truth in the common operations of holiness.*

* Spener's view of biblical study is clearly and succinctly given in some observations of his, addressed to a friend who had begun the practice of careful scriptural reading. "I am delighted," he says, "to learn from your letters, that you have found yourself impelled to an earnest study of the Bible, and that others have been moved by your example to a corresponding diligence, some masters even visiting you on the Sabbaths to establish a scripture exercise. Pursue, my friends, this way to heaven: persevere on this track, so sure to lead you to the true internal theology." Having alluded to the strong remarks of Sockendorf on this subject, he says, "This golden advice I would place before the eyes of all doctors, or, rather, I would have it inscribed on their hearts." He then answers the questions put to him, by suggesting briefly a plan of study. "It is most proper, and surely worthy of theologians, that you should begin with prayer; for, since scripture can be rightly understood by no other spirit than that by which it was written, he surely must be invoked, from whom all light is to be received, and in whom all things divine are to be contemplated The know-

The influence exercised by the new professors was not confined to the large number of students who attended their lectures. Many of the townspeople gladly availed themselves of their instruction ; and the members of the Collegia Pietatis soon became remarkable for the strictness of their morals, the high tone of their religious conversation, and the simplicity of their personal attire. They quickly found themselves exposed to the taunts of those who shrunk from imitating their example. The name of Pietists was given them in scorn ; and when the common sense of men in general took the sting out of such a species of ridicule, other epithets of a more abusive kind were heaped upon their heads. But, not content with this species of attack, the more influential members of the orthodox party renewed

ledge of sacred things, which is not sought with this mind, is either not obtained, or is not living and profoundly fixed in the soul.

" Let it not be, for an instant, supposed that I doubt the authority or inspiration of the books of the Old Testament ; but I would advise that the commencement of this pious exercise should be from the books of the New Testament, or at least that they should occupy by far the larger portion of time, till, more profoundly imbued with the heavenly truth, clearly revealed in the New Testament, we may approach more profitably the shadows of the Old.

" I should not consider it wise to read a whole chapter at one time, lest the work should seem forced and wearisome. Rather let us consider, if we be truly intent upon our purpose, that even a few verses are almost more than enough for an hour. For I believe heavenly food to be of such worth, that it ought not to be swallowed in great masses, but to be masticated by minute particles, that we may rightly perceive and taste its sweetness, and be nourished by its secret virtue, to secure which effects we must be contented with a slower process. We can hardly follow a better method than that taught by the example of Sebastian Schmid, who very properly admitted his family among the classes which he instructed. He, after he had spoken of the general scope of the whole book or chapter, descended next to each separate verse. In these he noted first of all *the connection*, συνάφειαν, whence the best light might be drawn for the discovery of the true meaning. Then he examined each word singly, and spoke of its proper sense. Next he drew forth what he called the *common places*, not of one kind only, but also where they might adorn a paraphrase, in which the nucleus of the whole exposition was found.

" I remember that I myself, with some friends at Frankfort, established such an exercise, the first epistle of the most mellifluous St. John being taken as the subject of our study. The series we observed was this : first, we noted the various readings of the verse, for we examined each verse separately, and then we gave our judgment, if any difference occurred between the several versions : secondly, single words were considered, and their particular force examined from parallel places, or wherever else they might occur, and every thing was unfolded which concerns the literal sense : thirdly, we proceeded to the inferences, πορίσματα ; and, at the beginning, dogmatic propositions were formed, often in great number."

their formal accusations against Spener and his followers, as opposing the fundamental principles of the Lutheran Church. Instead of being called Pietists, they ought rather, it was said, to be considered as schismatics and heretics, who, despising faith, placed their whole trust on individual merit. At the head of these antagonists was the celebrated theologian, Carpzov, now engaged in his commentary on Isaiah. Spener replied to these attacks in his usual mild and firm manner. He proved how unjustly he was accused of opposing the interests of theological learning, but, at the same time, insisted more strongly than ever on the worth of those studies which have for their object the cultivation of a deep spiritual feeling; and so far was he from trembling at the accusations of his enemies, that he placed Arndt at the head of his favourite writers, and even contended that Jacob Boehmen himself was not condemned by the whole Church.

In the year 1691, Spener removed to Berlin, where he was appointed provost and inspector of the church of St. Nicholas, and assessor of the consistory. About the same time a new university was established at Halle, and in which the most attached of his friends were soon placed as professors. Notwithstanding the anxiety which Spener had always expressed to avoid being named or regarded as the head of a party, the large body of students and others who were distinguished for any increase of seriousness were now called Spenerians or Hallensians, while those of the opposite party assumed to themselves the title of the Orthodox or Wittenbergians.

Angry as were the feelings already existing between the two parties, they were still more inflamed by the impetuosity of Mayer, formerly of Wittenberg, but now a preacher at Hamburg, a man of considerable genius, but violent beyond measure in his enmity to opponents. At his instigation means were adopted for obtaining the general consent of the clergy to the condemnation of Spener and his party. Confounding, with the efforts of the new reformers to restore practical religion, the wildest pretensions of false philosophy, they unjustly,

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and to the no slight injury of unformed minds, heaped obloquy on characters which had at least sufficient of what was great and good to demand a certain measure of affection.

A more formidable attack on Spener's credit was made by the theological faculty at Wittenberg. In the writing sent forth from this primitive home of Lutheranism, Spener was accused of having supported no fewer than 264 errors. Among the false opinions thus laid to his charge, the greater number respected the attacks which he had made rather on the state of the Church, and the laxity of the clergy, than on any of the doctrines proper to the Lutheran creed. He had brought, it was said, through his Colleges of Piety, the office of the preacher into contempt.* This will afford a key to the true sentiments of his opponents. The errors imputed to Spener were, indeed, for the most part, only such as viewed under the erring light of haughty and prejudiced minds. Thus it was imputed to him as heterodoxy that he spoke of the union of many societies as effected by an internal bond of peace; that he described regeneration as a new nature; and that the worst evils which the Church had to suffer had sprung from the introduction of carnal and unregenerate men into the number of Christ's ministers; that the new man was not less nourished by the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, than the natural man by the natural bread and wine; and that the sacrament of the Lord's

* One of the best answers that could have been given to this accusation might have been found in Spener's reply to the inquiry, whether it was lawful for laymen to administer the Lord's Supper among themselves. This, he observed, can in no wise be allowable; for as the sacraments are the seals of the preached word, so have they no power to administer them, orderly and openly, to whom the office of the preacher is not committed by God, and through his Church. As holy baptism is the appointed entrance into the Church, so does the Church readily open the same through her representatives; although it is allowed that necessity may give the power to other members to act in their stead, when their help cannot be procured. But as the holy supper was both established by Christ, and has ever been considered by the Church as a sacrament which should be the bond of a common union of its members, and therefore especially called *the communion*, it follows therefrom that the administration thereof must peculiarly pertain to those alone to whom is committed the oversight of the whole community. — Spener's *Deutsche und Lateinische Theologische Bedenken*. Hennicke, Halle. p. 384.

Supper was the most excellent means whereby we may become partakers of the divine nature; that the evangelical Church had retained only the misuse and not the proper use of confession; that the validity of absolution depends upon the truth and reality of the pre-going confession, and that all absolution, however spoken, is to be understood with certain conditions; that Christians are fellow-heirs and associates with the angels in dominion; that they are blessed already in this world, and enjoy eternal life; and that works of nature, even under their best form, are not truly good.

It is well observed by the learned and pious Schröckh, that a man can hardly believe his eyes in finding opinions like these branded as heretical, closely united as they are with the simplest principles of evangelical religion. But easy as it must have been for unprejudiced minds to determine on which side truth had taken her stand, the proceedings of the Wittenberg divines gave rise to a series of controversies, the last of which seemed likely to end in a definitive sentence against the peace and unity of the Church in Germany.

The year 1695 and part of the two following years, are described as the most painful portion of Spener's laborious life. A dispute on the nature and object of confession involved him in contention with many of those whose good opinion he would willingly have conciliated. Certain abuses, it seems, had crept into the Church, which went far towards nullifying the efficacy of confession, and of substituting for its genuine objects false confidence on the one side, and an impious assumption of independent authority on the other. It was the opinion of Spener that the error alluded to had sprung from a confused notion, that the power of absolution belonged to the office of the preacher, rather than to the Church. "Our Saviour," says he, "has wisely constituted his Church; and power over its members, therefore, is committed, not to one or two orders, but to the entire body. Thus, in every community, there should be a spiritual jurisdiction belonging to the clergy and their superiors; another to other officers of the society, or, where the weightiest matters are in dispute, to the social body at

large. From this should all censure proceed; and as soon as any doubt arises of the worthiness of a member, an examination should be immediately commenced, in the fear of the Lord, to determine whether he ought still to be considered as a brother and fellow-member or not. When, however, one or even two orders assume to themselves the right of judgment, that which was before a blessing is converted into a curse. And hence it is, that conscientious preachers generally consider the duty of receiving confessions as the most burthensome part of their office; and heartily do I rejoice," emphatically adds Spener, "that I have now nothing to do therewith."

The sentiments entertained by Spener himself, on this subject, were readily embraced by his followers. So important was the matter considered, that he found it necessary to deliver his opinions in a more open and defined manner than he had hitherto done. In 1697 he preached two discourses, the main purpose of which was to show, that forgiveness of sins may never be looked for without a true and radical improvement of character. To such a height, at length, did the dispute arise, that it was found expedient to establish a commission of inquiry, in order that the whole subject might be fully investigated. The popular feeling, it seems, was in favour of the confessor's authority; and the expulsion of Caspar Schade, the intimate friend of Spener, and to whose known dislike to the prevailing system the present agitation might be ascribed, was strongly and perseveringly insisted upon. Spener contemplated the increasing movement with regret. Anxious to repress, if possible, the evils likely to arise from such a state of things, he made certain proposals calculated to remove the abuses commonly attendant upon the rite of confession. As a foundation for these efforts, he stated it as his conviction, that those who conscientiously refused to make a particular confession ought to be admitted to communion, after proving themselves attentive hearers of the gospel, and partakers in the blessings resulting from a common absolution.

The wisdom and fatherly spirit indicated in this opinion had their due effect. Both parties were not only

persuaded to reconsider their opinions, but were induced to acknowledge the possibility of securing peace without the sacrifice of any doctrine proper to the strictness of their belief. A judicious order, issued opportunely by the government, contributed greatly to the same end. According to the decree thus published, persons on both sides were to be left to the decision of their consciences. Those who deemed confession necessary might make it without being chargeable with superstition, while those who conscientiously objected to the rite were allowed to partake of the Lord's Supper after having simply presented themselves before a clergyman. The activity of Spener continued undiminished to the end; and, notwithstanding the opposition which he had to encounter at the hands of many of the most powerful of his contemporaries, he retained a position in the opinion of the mass, which enabled him effectually to perform the task which had been committed to his execution. He had been invited to return to Dresden—a distinguished proof of the favour of the court,—but prudence taught him to refuse the offer. Soon after this his health began to decline, and he died at Berlin on the 5th of February 1705.

It is impossible to review even this cursory notice of Spener's career without feeling impressed with admiration of the man, and thankfulness to God who was pleased to raise him up at such a period. That Spener entertained opinions, some of which might be little accordant with a strict degree of orthodoxy, his warmest eulogists have not ventured to deny. That his opponents, on the other hand, were only instigated by prejudice or other unworthy motives, it would be as unwise as uncharitable to assert. But, when we consider the decay of piety, the want of any practical knowledge of the duties of churchmen, we can scarcely wonder that so faithful and ardent a minister of divine truth was led, by the very force of his anxiety to warm and animate his spiritless age, into an occasional appearance of imprudence. Men, whose errors he could, under other circumstances, hardly have failed to reprobate, were recommended to his favour by the mere fact that, having

much of piety and spiritual feeling, they stood opposed to the cold and faithless temper of the times. This was a fair ground for the censures of those who could not be made to understand that there might be an effectual improvement secured to the Church, although somewhat of irregularity marked the commencement of the change. Many, from the constitution of their minds, will always prefer the severe regularity of a fixed though unprogressive and unfruitful state, to the most promising of conditions exposed to change and occasional agitation. Such men, when provoked to defend their position, frequently exhibit an angry resolution, an inflexible spirit of opposition, which may easily be mistaken by those of a different character as the result of a proud and selfish prejudice; on the contrary, such a state of mind ought not, in itself, to be taken as a proof of the want of piety or religious feeling. The desire to preserve things as they are, may as often be the consequence of ardent piety as the keen spirit of reform. Martyrs have existed on the one side as well as on the other; and truth and charity are no less wounded, when men, honestly apprehensive of excitement, are accused of opposing the interests of holiness, than when the fervent advocates of a new order of things are themselves charged with folly or hypocrisy.

But Spener was superior to most of the weaknesses which commonly attend minds stimulated like his, and exposed to alternate irritation and the temptations of a noble success. Though not always equally cautious, he was more so than the generality of reformers. The consequences which attended the intemperate proceedings of some of his followers could not justly be charged upon himself. Separation from the Church, it is rightly said, never entered into his thoughts, nor was it ever advocated by any of his genuine disciples.* The

* The severe language which he employed, when lamenting the condition of the Lutheran Church at this period, was sufficient to give a semblance of probability to this charge. "I can," he says, "consider it in no other light than one of the heaviest of the judgments of God on our poor and unthankful Church, that the larger number of us pass their lives in sin and iniquity, having nothing about them that is christian or evangelical but the mere name, and an association in outward worship. In our own order, more-

"Collegia Pietatis" continued long after his death to be viewed with jealousy, and served, it is believed, more than any thing connected with his reforms, to provoke the hostility of what was still called the orthodox party. These obnoxious establishments had, it seems, lost no slight portion of their original character. The charm and value of Spener's institution depended mainly upon his own fatherly spirit; when that was withdrawn, or was wanting in power to exercise its influence over the whole extent of the widening circle, the style and governing feeling of the plan gave way to the prevalent opinion, or caprice, of any theological teacher who might have a momentary influence sufficiently strong to gain the attention of a few ardent and enthusiastic minds. Hence the institution, which was at first characterized by the most amiable traits of a domestic piety and communion, soon became known, at least in several instances, by a disposition to assume independence, to act in opposition to the rightful authority of the Church, to judge, to acquit, or condemn, by no other rule than that prescribed by the force of a present and fashionable opinion.

It may be matter of controversy whether justice was done in the particular instances, but in many districts

over, great is the number of those who, instead of worthily bearing themselves, seek neither the honour of God, nor the salvation of the people, but only themselves."—*Die Kirche: Bedenken*, p. 445.

Again: "That things do not go on as they should in our evangelical Church, is, I think, sufficiently made out, and will not be denied, except by those who are wilfully blind, or ignorant of what the will of the Lord is. When I contemplate the times of Jeremiah, as they are especially described in his prophecies, and compare them in every particular with our own, I find that one egg is not more like to another than is our Jerusalem to that of antient times, except that we have no Jeremiah, who, enlightened and commissioned to that end, might foreshew the miseries that are coming upon us, if one may imagine that the Babel of modern times is intended to act against Jerusalem as did the Babel of antiquity."—*Ib.*, p. 446.

Still further: "Since the papacy, as the papacy, in its outward constitution is Babel, so is it necessary that they to whom God has made this known, should separate themselves from its communion. But, in our Church, nothing more is needed than that righteous souls, convinced thereof, should remain apart from any share in misuses; should shun false principles, which recommend themselves to the rude multitude in the place of sound learning; all trust in the *opus operatum*; a wicked life, and such like, whilst they still remain in the communion of the congregation and its worship, and in the inward communion of doctrine and a holy life, separating themselves from nothing which is still true and good."—*Ib.*, p. 472.

the Colleges of Piety were put down by decrees of the state; this was especially the case in Sweden, where the pietists were assailed with a violence which it is hard to account for by reference to any of the genuine results of Spener's own designs.

But Spener's opinions were combated with no less obstinacy than his institutions and plans for reform. His enemies seized upon every sentiment that he uttered, to convert it, if possible, into the substantial form of a doctrine that might immediately be branded as heretical. A long and bitter controversy was founded on his observing, that the theology of an unregenerate man could be no true theology. The relation of good works to faith and justification furnished another ample field to be sown with the seeds of strife. But in this case it was not with words, or with ingenious arguments, that Spener allowed himself to be concerned, but with the solemn statements of scripture, sufficient in their broad simplicity to form the foundations of his theology.

The controversy concerning the *adiaphora*, or *things indifferent*, was attended with a sacrifice of temper no less lamentable than that which followed disputes on the most important points of doctrine. The question had often been asked, whether any thing can properly be considered as indifferent? To this Spener and his party answered in the negative, and they rested their conclusion on the common fact, that nothing can be done without influencing the feelings either for good or evil. Dancing was an instance especially brought forward. As a simple exercise it was confessed to be un sinful, but the usual accompaniments of the dance were condemned as productive of pride and levity, and as inconsistent with the gravity of a Christian. So strong was the feeling on this subject, that many clergymen refused the sacrament to those of their congregation who were known to engage in the dance.* Nor was

* Spener says, "A Christian may do nothing which is not of faith, and of which he is not convinced in his heart that it is pleasing to God. A Christian may do nothing of which it cannot be said that he does it to the glory of God, and in the name of Jesus Christ. The Christian, therefore, will never occupy himself in that which has not either the honour of God, according to the first table, for its immediate object, or the good of his

this feeling confined to the clergy only, several of the most powerful of the nobility directed the preachers in their countships to regard no one as a Christian who was known to indulge in either dancing, or card-playing.

Among other supposed proofs of Spener's enthusiasm or want of sober attention to the views of the Church, it was urged that he supported the notion of a millenium. That he had embraced any opinion of this kind, neither his writings nor his discourse bore any sufficient indication. He seemed to have looked for nothing more than that which animates the hopes of most thoughtful and pious men. The enlargement of the Church, the conversion of the Jews, and the fall of the papacy, regarded by him as essential parts in the plan of Providence, have no connexion with the personal reign of Christ upon earth, or with any other of the events which mainly characterize the millenarian doctrines.

The history of pietism exhibits from this period a distressing mixture of ill-formed opinions, bewildering fancies, and remnants of systems recalling, with their broken outline, the recollection of great men and christian designs, which it was once fondly hoped might conduct to permanent improvement and the establishment of general concord. Pietism, long venerable by the associations connected almost with the very sound of the word, became at last in the minds of sensible men, to whatever class belonging, the synonym of what is most fanatical and erroneous in the wide compass of religious thought. The enthusiast, glad to

neighbour in spiritual or bodily things, or the supply of his own spiritual or temporal necessity. Beyond these things, I can see no end for which God has placed us in the world. A man is also bound *so* to employ the whole of his time, that he may be able to give an account thereof to God, and to avoid the wilful waste of any of his hours, thus preserving himself from all appearance of evil, and disposing his life to a strict endeavour to resist the love of the world, 'the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life.' Supposing that this rule be well established, it must surely be difficult to understand how any one who feels in his heart even a small degree of holy shame, should be able to say that he dances, as led by an assured belief, to the honour of God, and in the name of Jesus Christ." He then proceeds to show, as mentioned in the text, that if exercise be necessary, it ought to be sought in a way least likely to lead to sin, which cannot usually be said of dancing. — Spener's *Deutsche und Lateinische Theologische Bedenken*. Hennicke, Halle. p. 146.

avail himself of such support, the proud separatist, thankful for such a retreat, readily consented to bear the name of a party which was once only known for its superior holiness, and anxious zeal in the cause of the gospel. What they gained by this subterfuge, the true pietists lost in respectability; and the only actual monument of Spener's virtues, and of the faithfulness of his immediate followers, is that which the spiritual reader still sees existing in those imperishable writings which influenced to so large an extent, and for many successive generations, the minds of his countrymen, and through them the temper of the Church at large.

CHAP. III.

STATE OF RELIGION IN ENGLAND—MEASURES OF THE CHURCH—RISE OF THE PURITANS—GENERAL VIEW OF AFFAIRS.

WHILE such was the conflict of opinion in the very birth-place of the Reformation, in other countries the light and interests of the gospel increased, and were developed by events, the powerful course of which effectually overcame the resistance of human opponents. We shall first, therefore, turn our attention to some of the main circumstances distinguishing the state of religious feeling in the countries where the principles of the Reformation displayed a direct influence; after which we shall note the state of opinion in that large portion of the Christian community still remaining in allegiance to the Church of Rome. Notwithstanding the prior claims of Germany to our respect and veneration, as the birth-place of those true servants of God who revived the knowledge of the gospel, England may claim at the hands of Christendom a not inferior homage as an appointed instrument of Divine Providence for the solid and permanent establishment of the reformed faith, and as destined to become the centre of the circle around which the light of evangelical knowledge was

to continue to be diffused. Germany must ever enjoy the enviable glory which attends the mother of illustrious children,—the love and admiration which so peculiarly attach to individual names and personal virtues. England, on the other hand, has an inalienable right to the praise of being the first, we may say, perhaps, the only nation which embraced, and incorporated with every principle of its Church and polity, the great interests of the reformed faith.

At the death of Henry VIII. it was evident to most observant persons, that the new opinions had taken sufficient root to place them beyond the reach of human control. The accession of a sovereign adverse to their propagation, might, it is true, in the present state of affairs, have retarded their immediate growth. Happily for the interests of truth, the reign of Edward VI. was allowed to intervene between the early trials attending a successful movement, and those which it was designed by the wisdom of God should test the power and sincerity of the men and institutions to which the truth had been committed as an inestimable treasure. If we may believe, that human affairs and dignities are intended to be ever subservient to the infinitely more important objects of religion, we can hardly fail to observe that the reign of Edward lost none of its value by the shortness of its duration. Had it been prolonged for many years, time would have been given for the reformed Church and its pastors to lapse too soon into a feeling of security. The force and energy, so necessary to the effectual diffusion of the truth through a populous land, would probably have early yielded to the softness or indifference of repose. Had the period of Edward's reign not been given to mature the knowledge, and develop the opinions, of the heads of the reformed Church, they might, indeed, have remained faithful to the profession they had made, but their faith itself would still have exhibited the imperfections and inconsistencies which usually mark the season of religious transition.

Nothing can better prove the disposition of the new monarch in favour of the Reformation, springing as it

did from a renewed veneration for the Word of God and its authority, than an anecdote, related among others, of Edward's conduct at his coronation. Three swords having been brought him, as emblems of a threefold kingdom, he is said to have remarked, that one was yet wanting. To the inquiry what that was, he answered, "*The Bible.*" "That book," added he, "is the sword of the Spirit; and to be preferred before these swords. That ought in all right to govern us, who use them for the people's safety by God's appointment. Without that sword we are nothing, we can do nothing, we have no power. From that we are what we are this day. From that we receive whatsoever it is that we at this present do assume. He that rules without it is not to be called God's minister, or a king. Under that we ought to live, to fight, to govern the people, and to perform all our affairs. From that alone we obtain all power, virtue, grace, salvation, and whatsoever we have of divine strength."

General report, it appears, had long been influenced by the growing virtues of the youthful monarch. "I doubt not," says a contemporary writer, "but the Lord hath sent him for the singular comfort of England. Not that I temerarily define any thing to come concerning him, considering it only in the Lord's power. But I desire the same Lord to preserve his bringing up from the contagious drinks of those false physicians. And this is to be prayed for of all men." When actually seated upon the throne, the venerable Latimer replied to the vain scoffs of the Romanists, that Edward was but a child, and knew nothing of the doings of his protector, and ministers; "Have we not a noble king? Was there ever king so noble, so godly, brought up with such noble counsellors, so excellent and well learned schoolmasters? I will tell you this, and I speak it even as I think, his Majesty hath more godly wit and understanding, more learning and knowledge at this age, than twenty of his progenitors, that I could name, had at any time of their life."

The most strenuous efforts were made to stop those improvements which it was evidently the wish both of

the king and his immediate advisers to promote. A prelate is said to have observed, when the bishop of St. David's preached on the necessity of a further reformation, "that he laid a platform for confusion and disturbances in state; and that the council, who had so much other business to do, should not have such inward disorders added to them; that if his brother St. David's did, like a champion with his sword in his hand, make enter for the rest, the door of license opened, there would be more, by folly, thrust in with him than his grace would wish; and that, if the bishop of St. David's and such other, had their heads covered with any new platforms, he would wish they were commanded, between this and the king's full age, to draw the platform diligently, to hew the stones, dig the sand, and chop the chalk, while the time was unseasonable for building, and when the king came to full age to present their labours to him, and in the meantime not to disturb the state of the realm."

But an opposition of this kind served no other purpose than to stimulate the friends of reform to the exercise of greater caution as well as zeal. It now became every day more evident, that, if the great interests of the Reformation were indeed to be preserved, they must be committed, in no slight degree, to the keeping of the people; but that if the nation at large was to be made responsible for so high a trust, it would require a vast increase of the means of knowledge and intelligence. In no respect, perhaps, was the good sense of the higher clergy, engaged in the present work, more conspicuously shown, than in their ready acquiescence in a truth which, since the era of the Reformation, has been so often exposed to imminent peril from the very successes of Protestantism itself. A reformed Church is bound by a thousand considerations to supply, without ceasing, the means of improvement to the people. It is indebted for the greater part of its most valuable privileges to a principle which recognizes, indisputably, the right of mankind, at large, to the study of the highest truths and the sublimest science. To preserve its rightful power from popular invasion, the solid arguments on

which it is believed to rest must be rendered familiar to men's minds from childhood, and with such a familiarity as is attendant, not on the mere readiness with which they may be stated or repeated, but on the manly conviction of an understanding nourished and enlightened by sound and religious education. That the vast proportion of even the lower classes of society are capable of receiving, and profiting by, such a discipline, seems proved to most minds by the very character and requirements of Christ's religion. It has been practically demonstrated, in later times, by numberless comforting and encouraging instances of success. But, considering the opinions which prevailed at the period of which we are speaking, it was a noble proof of foresight, an admirable example of Christian largeness of mind, to see the necessity of circulating throughout the country, and placing in the hands of every member of the Church, however humble his condition, a plain and undisguised exposition, not only of what ought to be received, but of the grounds on which it had been adopted, by the most enlightened classes of the community.

A translation of the *Pharaphrase* of Erasmus was among the earliest of the works employed in popular instruction. It is a curious fact, that both Queen Catherine and the Lady Mary had employed themselves in this translation. In Catherine's letter to the princess on the subject, she speaks of it as "her most fair and useful work;" and, inquiring whether she should publish or conceal her name, she observes that, "in her opinion, she would seem to do a wrong to her own work if she should refuse to commend it to posterity under the advantage of her own name, in which her accurate translation she had gone through so much pains for the public good, and would have undertaken more had her health permitted. She saw not," she said, "why she should reject the praise which all deservedly would give her; yet she left all to her own prudence, as being ready to approve of that most which she thought best to be done."

The version ushered into the world under such high

auspices was mainly accomplished by Nicolas Udal, a man of learning and piety, and who is said to have spent the better part of his life in executing tasks of this kind. He regarded Erasmus as one of the most efficient opponents of Romish error. Speaking of the paraphrase, he says, "he bringeth in, and briefly compriseth, the pith of the minds and meanings of all the good doctors of the Church, that ever writ in justification of faith, in honouring God only, in repentance and purity of a Christian man's life, in detesting of imagery, and corrupt honouring of saints; in opening and defacing the tyranny, the blasphemy, the hypocrisy, the ambition and usurpation of the see of Rome; in noting the abuses of all the abominable sects and rabbles of counterfeit religious and idle cloisters; in betraying the juggling sleights and fine practices of popery, in choice of meats, in esteeming the difference of days, in manifesting of vain ceremonies, in the colour and pretence of holiness crept into Christ's Church; in reprehending of pilgrimages, with all the circumstances of idolatry and superstition; in describing of a prince's office; in teaching obedience of the people towards their rulers and governors; in declaring of a pastor's duty; in showing the part of an evangelical preacher, and what and how his doctrine ought to be out of the scriptures."

A still more important effort was made in the preparation and publication of successive editions of the Homilies. An order was issued that these homilies should be read every Sunday in the churches throughout the realm. It was not to be supposed, that discourses of so evangelical a character would be received in every place without opposition; to a large portion of the people, however, they came as a precious boon, and the reformed Churches of the continent received them gladly as a noble addition to the means of common instruction. Bucer, then at Strasbourg, wrote an epistle addressed to the Church of England, for the express purpose of declaring how highly he valued them. "They had received," he said, "those pious sermons wherein the people were so godly and effectually exhorted to the reading of the Holy Scriptures, and faith was so well

explained, whereby we become Christians; and justification, whereby we are saved; and the other chief heads of Christian religion so soundly handled." And therefore, as he added, "these foundations being rightly laid, there could nothing be wanting in our churches requisite towards the building hereupon sound doctrine and discipline."

It seems to have been generally understood, that the words last quoted were written to urge the English reformers to a more definite preaching of those doctrines, which were regarded as constituting the sum and substance of evangelical belief. Thus, it is said, "he commended much the homily of Faith, the nature and force of which was so clearly and soberly discussed, and wherein it was so well distinguished from faith which was dead. He much approved of the manner of treating concerning the misery and death we are all lapsed into by the sin of our first parent, and how we are rescued from this perdition only by the grace of God and by the merit and resurrection of his Son, and how hereby we are justified in the sight of God, and adopted into the number of his children and heirs; and then showing what ought to be the study and work of those that are justified and regenerate. So that, he said, by this full and dexterous restitution of Christ's doctrine, his kingdom was so fully explained to the people, that there could no relics of the old leaven remain long in any parts of our ceremonies or discipline. Then he took occasion to stir up the ecclesiastical rulers to go on with the reformation of the sacraments; that they might be administered according as Christ commended and delivered them to us; that all might partake of Christ's grace and saving communication, as conferring very much to the undoubted restoring of faith and godliness."

Cranmer's own catechism was another of the books carefully circulated at this time; and, in addition to the efforts thus used, every care was taken to appoint preachers well qualified for their office. But with all the exertions made, the clergy were so generally found unqualified for instructing the people, that, had it not

been for a severe and constant inspection, the great mass of the new converts would have rapidly fallen into the error entertained by not a few, and would have ignorantly supposed that the surest way of reforming religion was by despoiling churches of their ornaments, and then pulling down the churches themselves. So convinced were the bishops of the dangers thence arising, that the more active among them seized every opportunity of occupying the pulpit themselves. The names of Latimer and Ridley will ever on this account be venerable to posterity. It was only, however, by severe measures that the ignorant on the one side, and the disaffected on the other, could be prevented from interrupting the work which was otherwise successfully proceeding. Preaching was forbidden, except authorized by a license. Even the bishops themselves were subjected to this law, and could neither license others to preach nor preach themselves, without conforming to the royal proclamation.

While such was the care taken to promote the improvement of the people, no less anxiety was manifested to correct the abuses existing in the great seats of learning, by appointing men of distinguished piety and ability to the principal offices and professorships. Nor was the choice limited to the scholars of England. Peter Martyr and Bucer were both invited to come over and accept the chair of divinity, the one at Oxford, the other at Cambridge. No doubt could be entertained of their learning and experience; as little of their faithfulness and piety. It admits, however, of serious question, whether this introduction of foreign divines, as co-operators with the reformers of the national Church, was not a dangerous experiment. Their views on many, not unimportant points, could not fail to be different from those of men bred up according to the strict rule of ecclesiastical discipline, and still proposing to themselves the support of the Church in all its rights, claims to authority, and agreement with the primitive faith. The disposition of the foreign reformers tended to more extensive and radical changes than any contemplated, at least at present, by the great men at the head of

affairs. They did not merit the charge of intemperance when directing their views to what English divines will properly regard as inimical to the interests of their Church. On the continent the Reformation was begun in hostility to a Church haughty and overbearing; resolved to remain as it was; to resign no particle of the vast machinery of its tyranny, and to persevere as resolutely in the defence of its corruptions as in the assertion of its apostolic origin, and the respect which on that account it might justly claim. In England, on the contrary, the Reformation was not the offspring of a power rising against the Church, but a movement within the Church itself,—the stirring of its own spirit endeavouring to recover its pristine freedom, and instinctively looking out for the nourishment and the means of strength which should best fulfil its purpose.

This essential difference in the origin of their design, could not but make itself apparent in the subsequent plans of the admirable men who led the movement in England, and on the continent. Here, though there was much to reform, there was every thing to preserve. With what a pious, filial tenderness an English churchman, notwithstanding his attachment to the Reformation, looked, as such a character must ever look, at whatever belongs even to the outward form and proportions of his Church, strangers, however pious, could scarcely be expected to comprehend. But such was the lamentable state of things at this period, that it was necessary to run risks of a far worse kind than those encountered by the admission of such men as Bucer and Peter Martyr to the councils of English bishops. Whatever might be their desire to extend some articles of the Reformation beyond the boundary line so deeply traced by the very idea of a national Church, their ability was eminently calculated to aid the general effort to protect the principles of the Reformation from its more immediate assailants. And it was to this, there can be little doubt, they were mainly indebted for the high consideration which they enjoyed in the universities. Their interference in any matters more minutely affecting the

order, discipline, or opinions of the Church, ought, perhaps, to be regarded rather as an accident of the position in which the most weighty considerations had placed them, than as a designed and foreseen consequence.

It was with fear and trembling that thoughtful men of all classes contemplated the state of the kingdom. The unsettled condition of the Church communicated its worst symptoms to the nation. Excitement prevailed to an alarming degree in the lower ranks. Something new and advantageous was constantly expected, and there was reason to apprehend, that the blessings attending a reformation of religion would not be found by the multitude to be what they had coveted. The extravagance of the Anabaptists and other enthusiasts, contributed largely to the disorder which prevailed; nor was there any species or cause of trouble to which the malice of the Romanist party did not add tenfold force. "The popish clergy," it is said, "outwardly conform themselves under the king's proceedings, and to the English communion book and the king's injunctions, but inwardly preserve their good-will to their superstitions." Again, it is stated, that one of the bishops remarked, "Laws must be obeyed, and civil ordinances I will follow; but my heart in religion is free to think as I will."

It was the acknowledged policy of the government to make no violent attempt at securing a more complete and honest conformity. But there were those who did not assent to the maxims of the state. "Out with them!" Latimer is reported to have exclaimed to the king; "I require it in God's behalf. Make them *quondams*, all the pack of them!" He is further said to have told the king, "that he might well supply the places of the suspected dignitaries by his own chaplains, who were well-learned men, and of good knowledge; and that, if there were not a sufficient number of these, there were still many laymen well acquainted with the scriptures, of great piety, and better learned than many of the clergy These," he added, "he would have

placed in the Church." "Let them," he concluded, "be called to it orderly; let them have institution, and give them the name of the clergyman."

The whole of the period of which we are speaking was as perilous and stormy as almost any in English history. Insurrections existed in various parts of the kingdom; the most exalted of the king's counsellors were suspected of treason, and the people at large were driven well nigh mad by distress and wretchedness. Religion was dishonoured by violences of the most appalling kind. Fanaticism assumed a hundred different forms, in order the more effectually to oppose the vital interests of piety. The melancholy story of the Maid of Kent, the clamours and sufferings of the Anabaptists, the rancour with which many of the leaders of the two great parties handled the most solemn themes on which the mind can be employed, and the fearful readiness with which, on all sides, recourse was had to the sword and the faggot, these formed but a portion of that long list of evils which threw so dark a shadow upon the reign of the young and saint-like Edward.

It is not difficult to account for the existence of these disorders. The Reformation had done but little as yet towards the good of the people, as the people themselves are capable of understanding what may improve their condition. Efforts were being made to supply them with means of information, to secure for them the blessings attendant upon a pure worship, to enrich them by the gift of the entire and uncorrupted Bible. But how little likely was it that the value of these things should be understood by those who had never been trained to spiritual thought, and whose religious affections were naturally engaged on the side of those older institutions, — of those forms and objects long endeared to them, and hallowed by every recollection that had any thing to do with the worship of the imagination or of the heart! It cannot be denied, that there must have been a vast number among those who lived in these times, to whom the sudden changes, and frightful spoliations daily taking place, could be fraught only with horror. We know,

when trying the subject by the clear judgment of spiritual experience, how little it was they lost in comparison with what was so soon to be offered as a compensation for the sacrifice. But they did not know this. Ages of careful teaching have been employed in the effort to bring men to a due sense of the blessings they enjoy in the free use of the Bible, and of a worship pure, scriptural and intelligible. But while, notwithstanding the pains and labour thus employed, the multitude still remains unimpressed with a due sense of these invaluable privileges, how little surprise ought to be felt when, prior to the employment of means proper to a reformed Church,* the ruin of antient institutions was looked upon as nothing less than the overthrow of what was most dear to God and valuable to his people.

A cause of discontent, ample enough for the purposes of the enemies of protestantism, existed clearly and palpably in the circumstances above stated. The position occupied by the reformed bishops was far from favourable. They were taught to consider themselves, in many respects, as almost entirely dependent upon the government. Cranmer had even tendered his see to the new sovereign, and professed to hold it only by his bounty and good will. It is impossible, moreover, that men of a certain order should see others of like rank and dignity suffering, and not feel moved by the conviction of their own danger or insecurity. Whatever necessity might exist for the deposition of the incom-

* The difficulty of providing a sufficient supply of sound and useful instruction, by its most proper and legitimate channels, may be inferred from the following passage in Ednard's Injunctions, published in 1547: "That the persons above rehearsed shall make, or cause to be made, in their churches, and every other cure they have, one sermon every quarter of the year at the least, wherein they shall purely and sincerely declare the Word of God; and in the same exhort their hearers to the works of faith, mercy and charity, specially prescribed and commanded in scripture; and that works devised by men's fantasies, besides scripture, as wandering to pilgrimages, offering of money, candles or tapers, or relics, or images, or kissing and licking of the same, praying upon beads, or such like superstition, have not only no promise of reward in scripture for doing of them, but, contrariwise, great threats and maledictions of God; for that they be things tending to idolatry and superstition, which, of all other offences, God Almighty doth most detest and abhor, for that the same diminish most his honour and glory."—Dr. Cardwell's Documentary Annals, vol. i., p. 6.

pliant bishops, consequences followed therefrom highly injurious to the independence of the Church, and some of the virtues of the episcopal character.

The unhappy difference between Hooper and the other prelates, on the subject of the episcopal habit, contributed still further to increase these evils. Hooper had returned from Switzerland deeply impressed with the admiration which he had conceived for the simple forms and discipline of its churches. Nominated to the see of Gloucester, he refused to be clothed in the usual habit of his order. Interest was employed by his powerful friends to enable him to accept the dignity, and indulge at the same time the scruples of his conscience. It was a struggle such as men of foresight must have long expected would arise; the feelings in which it commenced forming a prominent feature of the most active era of the reformed and protestant Churches. They operated with all possible force in the middle and lower ranks of the clergy; and it is a circumstance which may fairly excite surprise, that instances like that of Hooper, in the times of which we are speaking, were not more numerous among the higher clergy.

With Hooper's personal feelings we have little concern, but his objections gave rise to a discussion of no slight importance to the Church as it then existed. It led to the examination of points which it was absolutely necessary should, sooner or later, be brought under review. There were, doubtless, many who looked with extreme anxiety to see how far the rulers of the English Church would go in retrenching the outward grandeur and adornments of the sanctuary. The sentiments of those who exercised most influence on church affairs could hardly, as yet, have been on matters of this kind sufficiently known. It was a curious question, also, whether the reform of doctrine, and the laying aside of those fond inventions which had characterized the darker ages of the Church, must necessarily be attended with the abolition of every species of form or ceremony, and the ordinary means of securing the common attention of mankind to the peculiar claims and distinctions of religious order.

We know that this inquiry was soon to be answered by powerful parties in England, with the same sweeping decision by which it had been met by many of the reformers on the continent. But that no absolute connexion was felt to exist between the reform of doctrine and the rejection of whatever outward appliances might tend to the decent splendour or pathos of public worship, may be fairly inferred, it would seem, from the practice of the Lutheran Church, and still more plainly from the known sentiments of such men as Bucer and Peter Martyr. In the answer which the latter sent to Hooper's inquiry, he states, indeed, that he was thankful for every endeavour to retrieve the antient purity and unaffected plainness of religion; that he found it no small difficulty to disengage himself from the customs of Strasbourg, where the distinctions of habit, with respect to holy ministrations, were laid aside; and that in religious rites he was for keeping as close as possible to the precedents of holy scripture, and the most uncorrupted ages of the Church. "But," he added, "he could not go so far, in the other extreme, as to believe the substance of religion to be affected by clothes. He thought things of this nature altogether indifferent, and left at liberty by the Word of God. Had he been of *Hooper's* mind, that the customary habits for priests and bishops had been clearly unlawful, he would never have joined himself to the English communion. He thought conformity in these matters at present might be a serviceable expedient." He adds, "That the contesting circumstantials ought to be declined till the *Reformation* was better settled; that exerting our zeal upon indefensible points and things of small moment might lose the good opinion of the people, make them question the judgment of the reformed preachers, and give no credit to what they delivered in matters of the last importance." Moreover he commends *Hooper* for his great pains in preaching; that by his talent and application this way he had gained a considerable reputation, and put himself in a condition of doing a great deal of service. And here he precautions him not to overshoot in his zeal, and launch out into invectives, for that this would be the way to disappoint his

pious intention. Besides, by charging these indifferent things as altogether unlawful, "we shall," says he, "draw an imputation upon unexceptionable communions, and condemn the practice of the most celebrated antiquity."*

The main point of Hooper's objection, that the distinctions of habit were inventions of antichrist, and that we ought not only to renounce the pope's jurisdiction, but reject the novelties and customs which it had introduced, was met by the argument, "that to maintain the unlawfulness of all rites and customs practised in the Church of *Rome* looks like an indefensible assertion; that to govern by such narrow maxims would draw a very inconvenient restraint upon the Church of God." It is further added, "Our ancestors moved much more freely than this comes to. They made no difficulty of turning heathen temples into Christian churches. They translated the revenues dedicated to the support of idolatry to pious uses, and the maintenance of the clergy." Besides, he thought *Hooper* mistaken in his supposition. He could not grant that these *vestments* of *officiating* were brought into the Church by the pope. "For," says he, "don't we read in the ecclesiastical history that *St. John* the Apostle wore a plate of gold, or mitre? And does not *Pontius*, in the life of *St. Cyprian*, acquaint us that this saint at his martyrdom gave part of his episcopal robes to his deacons, and was executed in a linen habit? Thus *St. Chrysostom* makes mention of the white vestments in which the clergy performed their ministration; and here he puts *Hooper* in mind that persons at their baptism put on a white habit,"

But, supposing that it be allowed that these distinctions of habit had their origin with *Rome*, it is remarked by *Martyr*, that "he did not think the contagion of popery so malignant as to carry infection to every thing it touched, and make it prove mortal to a good man that made use of it". *Hooper* himself owned that every thing was not to be condemned on the score of its being a human constitution: for instance, to communicate, in the forenoon, fasting, stands upon no higher ground

* Collier, Pt. II., B. iv., sec. 293. Strype, Mem. of Cranmer, vol. I., B. ii., c. 17.

than ecclesiastical, that is, human authority; and yet he conceived *Hooper* would not censure this custom. His opinion was, therefore, "The antient usage ought to be continued for a time. That the pressing unseasonable alterations might obstruct advantages of a more significant kind. That to prevent any weak brothers being misled by the continuance of the customary *habits*, the people ought to be reminded of the indifference of these things, that they don't reach into the substance of religion, nor make part of the essentials in divine worship."

Again, it had been objected, "that the particularity and richness of this religious equipage would be apt to draw the eyes of the congregation, to break their attention, and turn to an amusement; whereas, if the habit was plain and unornamented, nothing of this would happen."

The answer to this was, "that things commonly seen are seldom gazed at to any disorder; and if the people should be affected to any degree more than ordinary, it is to be hoped the solemnity of the *habit*, the holy pomp, might prove serviceable to them, that it might awaken their respect, and re-collect their thoughts for the business that they were about; and this seems to be one end of the institution of the *sacraments*, that by sensible signs the mind might be wrought up to proper meditations."

When *Hooper* insisted, that "*whatsoever is not of faith is sin*," *Martyr* replied, that "*to the clean, all things are clean*," and "*that every creature of God is good*." And, lastly, when *Hooper* argued, that whatever pertains to religion ought to be established by the express warrant of scripture, *Martyr* again urged, that if the substance was secured, and the general rules observed, the governors of the Church might, in lesser matters, use a discretionary latitude.

Bucer spoke in the same tone, and pressed similar arguments on the attention of *Hooper*. While freely owning that he earnestly desired to see the Church restored as near as possible to primitive simplicity, he could not agree with *Hooper* in the severe view which he took of things that might fairly be left to the determination of the heads of the establishment. He spoke

with no slight degree of severity respecting the abuses which existed in England at this time. "The laity," he said, "had, with sacrilegious profanity, invaded the property of the Church; rich men, having seized the best preferments, had contented themselves with giving two or three benefices to their stewards and huntsmen, while they reserved a part of the income for themselves; the unfortunate people having thereby vicars set over them, not because of their good qualifications, but because they had been ready to engage with the patron on the lowest terms. The universities," he continues, "which were to furnish the Church with proper guides, had no small number of students, either erroneous in their belief, or licentious in their practice; and as to the *service* of the Church, it was performed in such a cold, lame and unintelligible manner, that the people were little better edified than if the office were said in the Phœnician or Indian language; neither baptism nor marriage was celebrated with that gravity and solemnity the business required; and the people could hardly distinguish between the Lord's Supper and the Mass, excepting that the *Liturgy* was in English." He adds, "Pastoral duties are lamentably neglected; there are no catechetical instructions, no private admonitions, no public censures of disorder. The discipline of the Church is so little put in use, that the spiritual authority is in a manner disregarded, and few persons will so much as own that Christ gave his ministers the power of *binding* and *loosing*, while people are promiscuously admitted to the privileges of communion without any proof of being qualified either in faith or manners. *Thus they appear empty before the Lord*, and take little care of the poor at their religious assemblies; the churches are made places for commerce and diversion; and the audience are so far from observing that plainness and sobriety in their cloaths recommended by the Apostles, that the highest solemnities of religion cannot make them baulk their vanity, nor come to the Lord's temple without gold and jewels, without expense and gaudiness in dressing. Alas!" he continues, "the meaning of the Church, the communion of Saints, and the kingdom of

Christ is little understood ; the want of discipline is the occasion of this unhappy ignorance ;—thus the fear of God, and the notion of religion makes a very faint impression ; and hence it is, that lying, cheating, theft, perjury and whoredom are so much the complaint of the times.”

It was evident to the strong good sense of Bucer, that so long as this state of things continued, it was vain, indeed, to think of restoring the people by outward reforms to a sense of Christian simplicity or primitive purity. Whatever success might have attended the wishes of such men as Hooper, it would have been little better than that of the sepulchre white-washers in earlier times. Good and wise men, therefore, contemplating the real state of religion in England at this period, earnestly desired to see the whole force which pious minds could command constantly and judiciously employed against essential corruptions. It is one of the most deplorable proofs of the deceitfulness of the human breast, that it is ever inclined to pass from the consideration of that which is internal and spiritual, to things of only accidental, and perhaps never of any real, importance. The common notion is, that such errors belong exclusively to those who overlay the sacred body of Christian faith and truth with numberless garments of their own manufacture. But surely there cannot be much more spiritual understanding in those who imagine that they purify a church by divesting it of ornaments, or denying it the use of forms which have nothing whatever to do with its faith, than in those who believe they are adding to its power by multiplying its ceremonies ! An undue importance is given in both cases to that which will ever be subject to the fluctuations of human feeling. It is only in a few extraordinary instances that forms are made the vehicle of doctrine. Wherever this happens, there can be no doubt they ought to be watched with the utmost jealousy. But in the case of the reformed Church there was no pretence on the one side or the other. The notion of teaching any positive truth or dogma by symbols had been fairly discarded ; and it was with

equal clearness made known, that it did not rest its claims to purity of faith on the puritanism of unfurnished churches or unsurpliced ministers.

Bucer, having stated that he could not believe, that the abuses formerly existing in respect to ecclesiastical vestments rendered their use altogether unlawful calls upon Hooper to show what texts of scripture there are to prove "that the devil or evil men have such a power over God's creatures, that they can make them good for nothing or unlawful." "It is certain," he adds, "that our Saviour has only prescribed the substance in matters of order and the administration of the sacraments, and that the circumstances are left to the regulations of those who preside."

The opinions of Bucer and Martyr thus plainly stated are of great value, as showing how men best acquainted with the history of the Church will reason on a subject so liable to excite the most violent contentions. Neither of them could be suspected of any prejudice in favour of forms. Their private feelings were confessedly on the side of Hooper's general opinion respecting a plain and simple worship. But they understood how fearful an opening would be made for evils innumerable, if right were given to every individual, while it was denied to the Church at large, to determine what shall or what shall not be done for the support of religious ordinances. For the time, however, arguments were urged in vain to overcome the objections of Hooper. His doubts, on the contrary, seemed daily to gather strength; and, not content with nurturing them in his own mind, he began to express them freely both in the pulpit and in society. This was not to be endured, when even the bishops themselves dared venture on nothing without the royal license, and every friend of the Church had daily to deplore real abuses left uncorrected, because its rulers were deprived of the authority legitimately belonging to their office.

Hooper, therefore, was first, by an order of council, commanded to consider himself a prisoner in his own house. But there was not enough of terror in this order to insure his obedience. He met it by pub-

lishing a confession of his faith, and was immediately ordered into confinement at Lambeth. His contumacy remaining still uncorrected, he was sent to the Fleet, and a large party in the country contemplated his conduct as a noble instance of devotion to the rights and liberties of Christians. But in the midst of the popularity thus acquired, he saw reason to change his opinion, or, at least, in some degree, to sacrifice it to the necessity of the times. In this he was met by the indulgent feeling of the heads of the Church. While he consented to the forms of consecration, and to wear the episcopal vestments on all solemn and public occasions, he was permitted to dispense with their use at other periods. It would be difficult to say which party gained the victory in this case, and the more so since it is evident, that the concession made to Hooper on the part of the Church itself was certainly of a kind which would not have been made without necessity.*

* Hooper held Worcester in *commendam* with Gloucester, and, in his visitation of both his dioceses, proposed certain articles to be subscribed by the whole of the clergy. These articles, not generally received, were followed by the following interrogatories :—

I. What is the cause of his non-residency, and whether his curate be sufficient ?

II. Whether the communion be used in such place, and after such sort, as most varieth from, and is most distant from, the Popish mass ?

III. Whether they preach any doctrine to avouch purgatory, pardons, auricular confession, praying to saints, the bishop of Rome, holy water, holy bread, palms, ashes, beads ?

IV. Whether they allure the people to the love of any other person or persons within this realm, or without, to this intent, that the people should favour them ?

V. *Item*, Whether they say one part of their service softly, and the other aloud, as they were wont to say the *Pater-noster*, with a small voice, and the psalms with a loud voice ?

VI. *Item*, Whether they sit at one part of the service, and kneel at another, and stand at another, as they were wont ?

VII. *Item*, Whether they use any month's minds and anniversaries ?

VIII. *Item*, Whether they use any corporas cloth in the communion ?

IX. *Item*, Whether they ring or knoll the bells in the time of the communion, or between matins and the communion ?

X. *Item*, Whether they suffer the people to sit at the epistle, and stand at the gospel ?

XI. *Item*, Whether, at the visitation of the sick, they bear the sacrament with covering their heads with the surplice, or at their breast, or with any light ; or, when they come into the house, they suffer the people to kneel and honour it ?

It now seemed every day to become more expedient to employ force against the prelates, who still opposed the Reformation. Gardiner, after an imprisonment of two years, and several examinations, was deprived of his bishopric; Bonner received a similar treatment. Other bishops were likewise deposed on the sentence of the court; and a responsibility was incurred by its ecclesiastical advisers more weighty and perilous than in that season of excitement could be made to appear.

In the brief intervals of quiet which proceedings like these allowed, care was taken to settle the rule of faith, and some still questionable points of Church order. It is not consistent with our plan to give minute details of the affairs of this period; our object will be sufficiently answered by a statement of such of the circumstances as are best calculated to show the spirit and feeling of the age. By what has been already related, we see clearly, that the power of the state had nearly set aside some of the most necessary principles of Church polity. The reformers themselves could not be ignorant of this; it must have been understood that bishops who held their authority with a trembling hand, and who could never tell what a day might bring forth, were in no good position for the exercise of those solemn functions upon which the discipline of the Church so materially depends.

It is evident, in the next place, that many of the determinations arrived at respecting forms and cere-

XII. *Item*, Whether any of them speak irreverently of God the Father, the Son, or the Holy Ghost, or mock and scorn at the *Word, laws and promises of God*?

XIII. *Item*, How many priests within the deanery have subscribed to the articles that I put forth unto them?

Then follow these questions relating to the laity:

XIV. Whether the midwives, at the labour, or birth of any child, do use any prayers, or invocations to any saints (saving to God only in Christ), for the deliverance of the woman; and whether they do use any salt, herbs, water, wax, cloths, gyndils, relics?

XV. *Item*, Whether any midwife refuse to come to any woman labouring of child, for religion sake, or because she is a wife to a minister of the church that hath married, or do marry, both by God's laws and the king's?

XVI. *Item*, How many priests within this deanery have subscribed to my articles?—*Strype's Memorial*, vol. II., part ii., p. 3.

monies, were the fruit of a compromise in which both parties were glad to find shelter in the asserted right of the Church to legislate on the subject. In this, the most important aid was given to those who could not help asking, whether conviction ought not to be as earnestly sought, and considered as necessary, in one set of objects as in another, if both pertain to the worship of God? whether, that is, any thing can be safely adopted on which faith looks with hesitation? By the recognition of Church authority, such a species of evidence was brought to bear upon the question as its nature required. The proof of a doctrine, the setting forth of a creed, or the arrangement of articles of faith, can be trusted to no particular Church whatever. If the appeal to its authority be regarded as final, it must show that it has itself appealed to primitive sources, and must be ready at all times to demonstrate clearly and honestly that it holds and teaches the truth, which, simply because it is truth, has an original and unchangeable right to acceptance. But the introduction of ceremonies, or the continuance of them, can only be justified by a general sense of propriety; by the proof that, while they are not contrary to holiness, they are becoming, significant and impressive. To look for arguments or authorities on these points in the Christian scriptures is a vain labour; they neither require, nor can be established by, the same rule as catholic creeds and doctrines. The original of the Church is in Christ; the original of discipline, as exhibited in its several forms and defences, is in the Church.

Whatever, therefore, may be the private notions of the Christian, as to the fitness of this or that custom in the Church of which he is a member, it is not to scripture that his appeal is to be made; nor can he rest in his own opinion, unless, indeed, he be wanting in the first qualities of a Christian mind,—humility and brotherly love. Though it may not, therefore, be in his power to satisfy his feelings as to the absolute fitness or value, of the doubtful rite, he may convince himself, of this, that the Church has a privilege, not usurped, but fairly conceded to it, of instituting such rules and practices as seem generally expedient. And this is the

sort of conviction required by the case. It is not necessary that he should be able to prove the legitimacy of the practice from divine injunctions, but the divine origin of the power which enjoins its observance. Assured of the latter, he safely sacrifices his private notions to the general rule, and finds his thoughts set free to dwell, with undivided energy, on the infinitely more necessary matters of faith and righteousness.

The arrangement of the articles of religion was by far the most important undertaking in which the leaders of the English Reformation had found themselves engaged; it was also that in which they were led to exercise higher functions than those called into action at any earlier period. The independence of any particular Church, in respect to the settlement of doctrine, requires supports of a very different character to those on which it so easily establishes its right to arrange points of order and discipline. Isolation and independence are readily mistaken for each other; but a Church commits a fearful error when it asserts its independence to the injury of that sentiment of union in which the power of the Church Catholic consists. Nothing short of its supposing itself the sole depository of the truth, and being resisted on all sides in the faithful ministration of heavenly doctrine, could justify it in assuming an independence which did not admit of being much modified by the manifold influences of general communion.

There can be no doubt, that our reformers were exposed to the danger of committing this grave offence against catholic union, at more than one stage of their proceedings; but at no period was this more evident than in that when they set about the final settlement of the national faith. Their power and influence were at the height; minor controversies were well nigh settled, so far at least as was requisite to the free exercise of authority on more important matters; they were regarded with supreme respect by those whose favour it was most necessary to conciliate; and might derive, even from the circumstances which agitated the nation at the time, additional means for executing their plans in security.

But, whatever the temptations to which they were exposed, the English reformers can never be justly accused of neglecting the teaching or opposing the spirit of the universal Church. The articles were framed with a caution which had not its origin in a desire to usurp authority or exhibit independence, but in a holy anxiety to preserve the unity of the faith in the bond of peace, to interpret divine truth with as entire a freedom from private influences as possible, and to clear away all obstacles to its reception which had been created by such causes, on the part either of single churches or of rulers become too powerful.

The success which attended these efforts has not been estimated at the same price by succeeding generations. While one party, in the Church itself, has contended that the articles were framed with an exclusive view to some favourite doctrines, another asserts that they plainly support the contrary side. One party, again, has seemed to discover that the grand merit of the articles consists in their forming, as it were, a wall not only of defence but of separation, and that they were framed, therefore, in the spirit of antagonism rather than with the evangelical sentiment which disposes to peace, and looks for its establishment in a full and plain exhibition of general truth in its most unencumbered forms. It can with no fairness be denied, that there has always existed a party in the Church disposed to contend for the latter view of the articles, and which, amid the clamours of controversy, has been taught to listen to the teaching of their Church as one with that of the Church at large, in so far as it is not suffering under human usurpation, or appears broken into sects and fragments.

It is difficult to conceive, how any other view than this, should ever have been taken by those who feel interested in the honour and welfare of their church. The more perfectly a creed or a set of articles exhibits the doctrines of scripture, the more, it is universally allowed, are those who receive them bound to venerate their statements; but it certainly is not a necessary truth, that the more exclusively they express the opinions of a party, the more closely they agree with

scripture; or that they who compose formularies of confession for a church ought to be more jealous of the worth of that which tends to its isolation, than of that which multiplies its points of union with other churches, or proves its oneness with the Church universal.

The sentiment of catholicity, most plainly and powerfully exhibited in the compilation of the liturgy,* appears with scarcely less distinctness in the articles. As originally proposed and published, they consisted of forty-two, and afforded an admirable illustration of the care with which the subject had been considered by those to whom they are mainly ascribed.

But it was not yet that the religion of the country was to be settled on a steady and firm foundation. The death of Edward exposed the Reformation in all its parts to imminent peril, and mere human hope would have utterly perished in the frightful struggle which the interests of the Church had suddenly to undergo.

It cannot be denied that the conduct which had been pursued towards the Princess Mary was neither wise nor just. The unfortunate movements made immediately on the death of Edward were as little calculated to aid the cause of the Reformation.† But whatever error had been committed, it was sufficiently atoned for by the sufferings of those to whose charge it might,

* The first edition was ratified by parliament in 1548, and the revised or second book in 1552.

† In all this army of martyrs, Mr. John Rogers, burnt in Smithfield, February 4th, 1555, led the van; and five martyrs, burnt at Canterbury, November 10th, 1558 (namely, John Comford, Christopher Brown, John Herst, John Snoth and Katherine Knight), brought up the rear, according to their own prayer (not to say prophecy), at the stake, that they might be the last, as by God's mercy so it proved. All these were executed in the four last years of Queen Mary's reign, none suffering in the first year thereof; in which time the butchers under her did only prepare their shambles for slaughter, whet their knives, and make ready their instruments of cruelty. Comparisons, I know, are odious, and the more when made between persons of eminence. However, to such as peruse the whole story, these proportions will appear true. Of all the Marian martyrs, Mr. Philpot was the best born gentleman; Bishop Ridley, the profoundest scholar; Mr. Bradford, the holiest and devotest man; Archbishop Cranmer, of the mildest and meekest temper; Bishop Hooper, of the sternest and austere nature; Dr. Taylor had the merriest and pleasantest wit; Mr. Latimer had the plainest and simplest heart, &c. Oh, the variety of these several instruments! Oh, their joint harmony in a consort to God's glory! — Fuller, xvi. cent., p. 21.

either directly or indirectly, be laid. Nobler exhibitions of the power of devotion, finer examples of sincerity, of patience, of Christian temper, have never been given than those which were the fruit of the Marian persecutions. They are too well known to require that we should devote to them any portion of our limited space. It is enough to observe, that the value of the truths lately brought to light was counted higher than that of fortune, liberty or life; that none of the circumstances of station, and few even of the varieties of personal disposition, weighed with those who were called upon to bear witness to the worth of evangelical religion; and, which is the most important of all, that many of the evils were corrected by this season of fierce trial, which had otherwise, it is probable, reduced the Church of England to a lower degree of slavery than that from which it was happily to be delivered.

The opinions which prevailed on these proceedings of the queen and her counsellors, were not the same, even in the party for whose sake they were instituted. They had been commenced in the spirit of wrath and resentment. The notion, common for so many ages, that heresy ought to be rooted out at any expense and by any means, had its usual degree of influence, but it was not the only cause of these persecutions, as it has been of many others. While Mary herself had suffered no slight injury at the hands of the reformers, her ecclesiastical advisers had endured still more; and their personal feelings, therefore, were likely to be awakened to at least an equal degree with their professional convictions. It was this which gave so fierce and bloody a character to the persecution; and it is in the well-known alternations continually taking place in the mere tempers of men, that we may find a reason, perhaps, for the doubts occasionally expressed by the persecutors themselves as to the wisdom or propriety of their cruelties.*

* The preface to Bonner's Articles of Visitation speaks a language which the mildest spirit might use. "Articles to be inquired of in the general visitation of Edmund bishop of London, exercised by him in the year of our Lord God 1554, in the city and diocese of London, and set forth by the same, for his own discharge towards God and the world, to the honour of God,

We may surmise that something of this kind occurred, from the circumstance, that King Philip's own chaplain preached before his majesty against the punishment of death for heresy; and that a short time after Bonner and others received a sharp rebuke for what was considered a too great increase of moderation.*

But, whatever the feelings entertained on the subject by the chief actors in these fearful proceedings, the opinions of the people at large were daily becoming more favourable towards the sufferers and their cause. Hitherto the popularity of the Reformation seems to have been confined to two comparatively small parties; the one consisting of those who were ready to rejoice at any change, or who would have been found to coincide with any movement, so that it did but tend to the overthrow of existing institutions, and the consequent opportunity of reaping in the rich harvest-fields of ruin; the other composed of those who sincerely gloried in the Reformation for the supports which it promised to afford to faith and godliness. This, it need scarcely be said, was far inferior in numbers to that before named. But the spectacle of suffering holiness, so frequently now presented to popular observation, produced a speedy change in numerous minds. Many that had confounded, by a blind and prejudiced judgment, the cause of the

and his Catholic Church, and to the commodity and profit of all those that either are good (which he would were all), or delight in goodness (which he wisheth to be many), without any particular grudge or displeasure to any one, good or bad, within this realm: which articles he desireth all men of their charity, especially those that are of his diocese, to take with as good intent and mind, as the said bishop wisheth and desireth, which is to the best: and the said bishop withal desireth all people to understand, that whatsoever opinion, good or bad, hath been received of him, or whatsoever usage or custom hath been heretofore, his only intent and purpose is to do his duty charitably, and with that love, favour and respect, both towards God, and every Christian person, which any bishop should show to his flock in any wise."—*Documentary Annals*, vol. i., p. 124.

* *Collier Eccles. Hist.*, pt. ii., b. v., p. 382: "Note, that Tonstall, in Queen Mary's time, was no great bloody persecutor. For Mr. Russel, a preacher, was before him, and Dr. Hinner, his chancellor, would have had him examined more particularly. The bishop stayed him, saying, 'Hitherto we have had a good report among our neighbours, I pray you bring not this man's blood upon my head.' Fox in Fuller, who says, 'The bishopric of Durham had halcyon days of ease and quiet, under God, and good Cuthbert Tonstall, the bishop thereof.'"—*Fuller*, xvi. cent., p. 20.

real reformers with that of the men with whom they were accidentally associated, now began to discover their error. The meek and patient piety which so readily submitted to every species of infliction for the gospel's sake, could not, it was felt, be engaged in a cause that wise men might despise without inquiry. Others were affected by the mere appeal to their sympathies, and concluded that their souls must needs be safe if joined in communion with such patterns of faith and resignation.

Proved as the truth was being in this season of affliction, the converts to its cause may be considered as having shown a force and virtue in their profession far superior to that of many who had joined the ranks of the reformers at an earlier period. Persecution wrought, therefore, the two-fold good, of trying the older professors of the purified faith by all the applications of a severe discipline, and forming, according to the best examples, those who now first believed it their duty to reject the antient superstitions.

But Mary's reign was drawing to a close; and, while the ashes of some of the martyrs were almost still warm, the Church found itself suddenly set free from the terrors which it had cost many of its best children so much to encounter. Elizabeth's accession revived the hopes which had been conceived by the most sanguine spirits at the commencement of the Reformation. The numerous exiles that had sought refuge among the protestant communities on the continent heard, with inexpressible joy, that they were at liberty to return to their country, and to the nursing bosom of their Church. It must create some wonder that, in the midst of this excitement, the government could proceed with that caution which so eminently characterized its measures at this period. It was not till the commencement of the new year that the reformers began to taste the fruits of this season of hope. On the first sabbath, which was also new year's day, every church again resounded with the voice of prayer and thanksgiving, uttered in intelligible and familiar words. The Holy Scriptures were again opened, and read to crowds of grateful hearers; and preachers, who had only

in secret ventured to speak, here and there, to a few scattered followers, again proclaimed aloud the unabridged message of salvation.

The first legal announcement of the intentions of the new sovereign was made at the passing of the Act which declared the queen * “to be the only supreme governor of her kingdoms, in all matters and causes, as well *spiritual* as temporal.” “But the papists,” it is said, “found themselves much aggrieved at this ecclesiastical power declared and confirmed to be in the queen. They complained that the simplicity of poor people was abused, the queen declining the title of *head*, and assuming the name of *governor of the Church*, which, though less offensive, was more expressive. So, whilst their ears were favoured in her waiving the word, their souls were deceived with the same sense under another expression. They cavilled how King Henry VIII. was qualified for that place and power, being a lay-man; King Edward, doubly debarred for the present, being a lay-child; Queen Elizabeth, totally excluded for the future, being a lay-woman.”†

In the convocation, the effort made to resist the revival of the reformed doctrines was plainly dictated more from a feeling that something ought to be said, than from any hope or expectation of success. The address presented to parliament by the few members assembled on this occasion, furnishes us with an authori-

* The line of policy intended to be pursued was very clearly indicated in the speech of the lord keeper. “In the management,” said he, “of this affair touching religion, two extremes are to be carefully avoided. On the one hand, there must be a guard against unlawful worship and superstition; and, on the other, things must not be left under such a loose regulation as to occasion indifferency in religion, and contempt of holy things. The exemplary punishment of undue worship and superstition, and especially of atheism and immorality, is clear from the history of all ages, and needs not be particularly recited, and the blessings of Providence are no less remarkable on the contrary practice; and, for your further encouragement, I think I may affirm, that neither good King Hezekiah, nor the noble Queen Esther, had a stronger zeal to discharge error, and reform what’s amiss, than our sovereign lady has to recommend herself to the approbation of God Almighty. Let, therefore, the consideration of our duty to God, the terror of his judgments, the sense of his goodness, the love to our country and ourselves, and the encouragement of so inviting an example in the queen, put us upon our best endeavours for providing such laws as may tend to the honour of God, the settlement of his Church, and the repose of the kingdom.”—Collier, b. vi., p. 413.

† Fuller, cent. xvi., p. 53.

tative statement of the views and opinions of the Roman-catholic party.

"Reverend fathers in Christ, and our honourable lords," says this important document; "whereas by the report of public fame it hath come unto our knowledge that many doctrines of the Christian religion hitherto received and approved by the unanimous consent of Christian nations, and with joint agreement, as by hands deduced from the Apostles unto us, especially the articles under written, are now called in question. Hence it is that we, the inferior and secondary clergy of the province of Canterbury, assembled in one body, God so disposing it, and the command of our lady the Queen's most excellent Majesty, together with the mandate of the dean and chapter of Canterbury, the parliament writ, and all due and wonted ecclesiastical monition declared so requiring it, conceived it to belong unto us to provide for the eternal salvation both of ourselves and such as are committed to our charge, by all means possible for us to obtain. Wherefore, stirred up by the examples of our predecessors who have lived in the like times, that faith which in the articles under written we believe to be true, and from our souls profess, to the praise and honour of God, and the discharge of our duty, and such souls as are committed unto us, we thought in these presents publicly to insert, affirming and avowing as God shall help us in the last day of judgment."

Then follow the articles alluded to, "First, that in the sacrament of the altar, by the virtue of Christ's assisting, after the word is duly pronounced by the priest, the natural body of Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, is really present, under the species of bread and wine, also his natural blood. *Item*, that after the consecration, there remains not the substance of bread and wine, nor any other substance, save the substance of God and man. *Item*, that the true body of Christ, and his true blood, is offered a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead. *Item*, that the supreme power of feeding and governing the militant Church of Christ, and of confirming their brethren, is given to Peter the Apostle and to his lawful successors in the see

apostolic, as unto the vicars of Christ. *Item*, that the authority to handle and define such things which belong to faith, the sacraments, and discipline ecclesiastical, hath hitherto ever belonged, and only ought to belong, unto the pastors of the Church, whom the Holy Spirit hath placed in the Church of God, and not unto laymen."

"Which, our assertion," it is added, "affirmation and faith, we, the lower clergy aforesaid, so represent the aforesaid consideration unto your fatherhoods, by the tenour of these presents, humbly requesting that, because we have not liberty otherwise to notify this our judgment and intention to those which in this behalf are concerned, you who are fathers would be pleased to signify the same to the lords in parliament, wherein, as we conceive, you shall perform an office of charity and piety, and you shall provide, as it is meet, for the safety of the flock committed to your charge, and shall discharge your duty towards your own soul."*

The bishop of London placed this address in the hands of the lord keeper; and it was followed by another from both the universities, declaring their concurrence in the articles above given, with the single exception of the last. Soon after, a public disputation was appointed to take place in Westminster Abbey, on the following questions: 1. Whether service and sacraments ought to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue? 2. Whether the Church hath not power to alter ceremonies, so all be done to edification? 3. Whether the mass be a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead?

As might have been expected, the inquiry thus instituted tended only to useless strife. It was found impossible to persuade the parties engaged to agree on the necessary preliminaries of the disputation, and lord keeper Bacon dismissed the assembled bishops with these significant words: "Seeing, my lords, we cannot now hear you, you may perchance shortly hear more of us."

The Bill for uniformity of Common Prayer, introduced in the year 1559, having gone through the House of Commons, gave rise to a debate in the upper house, the

* Fuller, cent. xvi., p. 55.

burden of which was chiefly borne, on the side of those who opposed the Reformation, by Fecknam, abbot of Westminster, and Scott, bishop of Chester. The speeches of both these dignitaries were ingenious and eloquent; but while in some parts they were founded on mis-statements, in others they exhibited fresh instances of what is so common in most controversies, namely, of arguing from temporary abuses not denied to exist, to the proof that the system with which they are contemporary has given them birth, and is favourable to their growth. Fecknam instituted three rules to guide the opinions of his hearers: "First," he observed, "to distinguish the true religion from that which is false, we must consider which of them has the best claim to antiquity, and has been most universally received, both as to time and place. Secondly, which of them has been most constant and uniform with itself. Thirdly, whether of the two religions is most productive of morality and virtue; and in which communion the people are most exemplary for their piety towards God, and their obedience to the civil magistrate."

It is at once apparent, how many explanations a man of ordinary experience in argument would require, before he admitted these postulates of the good abbot of Westminster as axioms. But their author, satisfied with their correctness, delivered a long speech, abounding in remarks which have ever since been favourite points with his party.

The bishop of Chester's address, though scarcely of greater worth in regard to solidity of argument, contained observations which fairly claimed the respectful attention of his auditors. Whatever may be thought of the principles which he assumed, there is a gravity in his remarks on the exposure of the treasures of faith and divine knowledge to the interference of parliament, well calculated to awaken sympathy with the feelings which cherished it. "As for the grounds and articles of faith," he said, "than which nothing ought to be better fixed, and more certain, these things must be very floating and precarious, if they hang upon an act of parliament. In earnest, this is but a weak support for

so great a weight. And here I desire your lordships to understand me rightly. I have no intention to say any thing to lessen the authority of parliament. I own the acts of this honourable court are not to be contested when passed upon matters within your jurisdiction. But, as to religion, I humbly conceive that it is a subject altogether foreign to the business of parliament. For *faith*, as I have observed before, ought to have a firm basis; to be as unalterable as the laws of the Medes and Persians, and not stand liable to *amendments* and *repeals*, and all other casualties of the *statute-book*. We ought not to waver and be at uncertainties in our belief; for, as St. James speaks, *He that doubts or wavers is like a wave of the sea*, always rolling from one figure to another. This man, as the Apostle goes on, *is unstable in all his ways*. Besides, the *body* of the parliament consists mostly of the temporal nobility, and the commons, which, though persons of great judgment and learning in civil matters, yet divinity is none of their profession. The exposition of the scriptures, the reading of the antients has been none of their employment. These things considered, they cannot be supposed to be rightly qualified to pronounce upon the doctrines and practice of the Church; neither, indeed, do these things belong to their function, or lie within their character. And for this, my lords, I appeal to a late instance. I remember this parliament, there was a nobleman's son put under an arrest, and committed. This confinement was resented by your lordships, and the honour of the house was thought to suffer by it. Upon this resolution the young gentleman, the bailiff, and the person at whose suit he was arrested, were all ordered to appear before your lordships. But before they were brought into the house, it was thought proper to debate the matter over again, for fear the house might concern themselves in things without their cognizance. And here the case was found to contain three points. The first was a debt, and that your lordships thought proper to remit to the common law. The second point was, upon inquiry, found an encroachment

upon the court of chancery. The third was the arrest, and commitment, in which the house thought themselves concerned. Upon the whole, if, by your lordships' resolution, the parliament has no authority to check the courts of common law and chancery, which relate only to civil justice, and turn upon matters which lie open to human reason, then, by all force of consequence, your pretensions must be still lower in matters of *faith*; in matters of faith and religion, which so far exceed the extent of reason."

Having thus illustrated the main point of his argument, the bishop continues: "The subject of this bill being of this sublime nature, there are three things principally to be considered: first, the importance of the matter; secondly, the obscurity of the case, and the difficulty in trying the truth; and thirdly, the danger of mistaking the point, and coming to a wrong resolution. As to the first, the importance of the matter, nothing can be greater. 'Tis no temporal interest, no money business, no branch of property; no, 'tis of a much higher consideration,—the fate of eternity; life and death, heaven and hell, are concerned in it. For now, as the scripture speaks, *life and death, fire and water, are set before us*; now, to judge rightly in a concern of this consequence is neither every body's talent, nor every body's business. Farther, we should be especially careful not to pass a rash censure upon the judgment and practice of our forefathers. Now, that system of belief, that form of religion, which is to be set aside by this bill, is the same which was professed by our ancestors for a thousand years and upwards; and, which is much more, it was likewise received by the universal Church from the times of the Apostles.

"A noble member of this house was lately pleased to say, that our forefathers lived in the dark, and therefore we have great reason to lament their ignorance. To this we may answer, that if our forefathers were within the hearing of this imputation, we have reason to believe they would reply, as our Saviour did to the woman who lamented for him, *Weep not for us, but for*

yourselves. Do not trouble yourselves for our ignorance, but for your own presumption, for being so hardy to justify your innovation, and condemn the ages before you."

Then observing that the subject was perplexed and difficult, he said, "The question to be resolved relates to the *Mass-book* and the *New Common Prayer*. The first by the bill is to be suppressed, as unorthodox and indefensible; the other to be established as agreeable to the Holy Scriptures. Now, the commendation of the one, and the dislike of the other, relate to the same matter; that is, a right administration of the sacraments, pursuant to the institution of our Saviour Christ; in which administration we are to consider three things: first, the institution of our blessed Saviour, which comprehends the matter and substance of the sacraments; secondly, the regulations of the Apostles, from which the form of the sacraments may be said to emerge; to which, in the third place, we may put the additions of the holy fathers for the perfecting and farther advantage in the administration. These three things, as they are necessary, so they are duly observed in the *Mass-book*, or *Old Service*. But the other *book*, which is so much magnified, not only strikes two of them clear out of practice, but makes the third, in a manner, insignificant. For, first, as touching the traditions of the *antients* in the *mass*, as the *Confiteatur*, the *Misereatur*, Κύριε ἰησοῦ *sequentes preces*, *Sanctus Agnus Dei*, &c., to which we may add, the rites prescribed by the Apostles, as *benedictions*, and the use of the cross; and in the administration of several of the sacraments, *exsufflations*, *exorcisms*, *anointing*, *praying towards the east*, *invocations of saints*, and *prayers for the dead*, &c. These rites and usages, I say, are either maimed, or clean taken away by this new book. Notwithstanding which omissions, the compilers pretend it exactly agreeable to our Saviour's institution, and the custom of the primitive Church. But to waive the insisting upon apostolical regulations and primitive tradition, though these things may justly challenge our regard, however, let us pass over these things at present, and come to the institution of our blessed Saviour, and examine which of these two books

comes up closest to this standard. And to clear the controversy the better, we will take the mass, or, as they call it, the Lord's Supper, for an instance. And here, as all the fathers collect from the scriptures, our Saviour instituted three things. These he commanded to be continued in remembrance of his passion until his coming again. 'Do this, &c.' The first is the consecration of the blessed body and blood of our Saviour Christ; the second consists in the offering up the same to God the Father; the third we may call the Communion, *i. e.*, the eating and drinking the said blessed body and blood, under the form of bread and wine."

The authority of St. Chrysostom is cited in reference to the first named points, but, he adds, "These two things are taken away in the New Service-book. This the compilers of that book are willing to acknowledge: they declaim against the doctrine which asserts Christ's being offered more than once; though, on the other side, the holy fathers unanimously maintain that Christ is still offered in an unbloody manner. Now, if these men would consider the consequences of their tenets, this reflection might be serviceable to recover them: for if there be no external sacrifice, then there is no priesthood; for the function of a priest, as St. Paul informs us, is to offer gifts and sacrifices for sin. Now, if there be no priesthood, under the New Testament, the next inference is, that we have no religion, and thus we are 'without God in this world;' for these, like the links of a chain, have a close connexion with each other. Farther, I desire your lordships to consider that the consecration likewise fails in this modern liturgy. These men talk of nothing but the holy communion, but fall short of the meaning of that expression; for the things which should make it holy, *i. e.*, the body and blood of Christ, are not there. It is true, when the administration is duly performed, the communion may well be called holy, for then we receive our Saviour's blessed body and blood into our bodies; and thus we are united with him, like two pieces of wax, which are melted into each other. This similitude St. Cyril and St. Chrysostom make use of upon this occasion; and, as

St. Paul speaks, 'we are made flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone.' But this great advantage cannot be expected from the new book; for, by the ministration prescribed, Christ's body is not truly there; for where there is no consecration, there can be no real presence. But this is the case of the new service; for these men neither observe the form prescribed by Christ, nor the custom of the Church. The Evangelist informs us, that our Saviour 'took bread, blessed, brake, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take and eat; this is my body: do this in remembrance of me.' By these words we are commanded to take the bread in our hands, 'to bless it, and break it:' but by the order of this book, all this is omitted; for the priest neither takes the bread in his hands, nor blesses it, nor breaks it. And as for the words, 'This is my body,' by the pronouncing of which, as St. Chrysostom teaches us, the consecration is performed, their priests, I say, when they pronounce these words of our Saviour, have no regard to the sacramental solemnity, or the force of the expression, or the effect upon the bread, but make no more of the words than if they were telling a story. To proceed: the doctors of the Church affirm, that an intention to do that which Christ did, *i. e.*, to 'consecrate his body and blood,' is a circumstance of absolute necessity. For this purpose, the Church has appointed certain prayers in the canon of the mass to be said before the consecration: the words are these, 'Ut fiat nobis corpus et sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi;' *i. e.*, That the elements may be made unto us the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. Thus the intention of the Church, and of the priest officiating, is plainly declared; but in this new book there is neither any such intention declared, nor any petition put up to God for that purpose. The contrary does rather appear, by these words, in their office, 'That we, receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, may, &c.;' which words declare they intend nothing of consecration. And if so, let them value themselves as much as they please upon their communion, it is to no manner of purpose, in regard the body of Christ is not there, which, as I

have already observed, is the thing which should be communicated."

Continuing in this strain of popular argument, he adds: "Yesterday a noble peer was pleased to say, he believed Christ was received in the communion prescribed by the new service; but upon being asked whether he worshipped him there, he answered, 'No, nor ever intended it.' Now this is a strange opinion, that Christ should not be worshipped wherever he is owned to be present. I grant, they tell us, they worship our Saviour no less than we do, but then they distinguish and affirm it is with respect to his being in heaven, and not as he is present in the sacrament; which is just as if a man should say, that he is willing to pay a civil worship to his prince, when he sits under a state, and has his robes on, but if he comes abroad under a disguise, or in a plain habit, they desire to be excused; and yet, by their favour, he is as much a sovereign in a frieze coat in the streets, as when he sits upon the throne in gold tissue. And thus he that sits on the right hand of God, in the appearance of a glorified body, is the same Christ which is concealed in the sacrament, under the form of bread and wine."

Again: "The scripture," as St. Austin expounds it, "commands us to worship our Saviour's body in the sacrament. The text runs thus, '*Adorate scabellum ejus, &c.*' i. e., Worship his footstool, for it is holy. Upon this place St. Augustin's comment is, that Christ assumed flesh of the blessed Virgin, his mother; in the same flesh he conversed upon earth; and the same flesh he gave us to eat, but no man will presume to eat before he worships it. And in this sense we may be said to worship his footstool; and we shall not only not sin in worshipping, but we shall sin in not worshipping." Thus far St. Austin.

Having attempted to show that the controversies of the Lutherans and Zuinglians on the subject went far to prove the truth of the Romanist doctrine, he continues: "And now, my lords, I beg you would please to consider the subject of the present controversy, and whether your lordships are sufficiently qualified to examine the points,

and pronounce upon the case; *i. e.*, whether your lordships are furnished so far with ecclesiastical learning as to give a judgment whether the body of Christ is consecrated, offered, adored, and truly communicated by the order of this new book; whether these acts and circumstances are made essential by the institution of our Saviour, and whether this new book follows the direction of that infallible rule. These things, as I observe to your lordships, are weighty and perplexed, and it is no easy matter not to fall into an error; and then your lordships may likewise consider the condition of the other sacraments; and that these are either perfectly sunk or mangled, after the same rate, by this new book. Your lordships may please to remember the great danger you draw upon yourselves, by undertaking to judge in the cause, especially if you should happen to make a wrong decision; for then, besides the misfortune of your own persons, you will prove the unhappy occasion of misleading others. King Jeroboam has this mark set upon him, as an aggravation of his misbehaviour, that, besides his personal miscarriage, he made Israel to sin. My lords, I entreat you would be very careful to prevent the application of this text. To speak freely, in my judgment, if you pass this bill you will not only err yourselves, but be instrumental in misleading the nation, for which you must expect to give an account to Almighty God."

Then follows his supposed proofs from the history of the early Church, after which he thus concludes: "I beseech your lordships to recollect, that all princes and magistrates, catholic, heretic and infidel, have all along refused to put themselves in a post which your lordships are now going to challenge. But I shall distress your lordships' patience no longer, and conclude with the mention of two instances. The first is in the emperor Theodosius the Great, who makes no scruple to confess, that "*Illicitum est qui non sit ex ordine sanctorum episcoporum, ecclesiasticis se immiscere tractatibus*; *i. e.*, It is not lawful for a man who has not the episcopal character, to interpose in religious affairs. The other is a saying of the emperor Valentinian: '*Mihi quidem*

qui in sorte plebis sum, fas non est ista curiosius scrutari: sacerdotes quibus ista curæ sunt, inter seipso, quocunque loco voluerint, convenient;’ i.e., It is not lawful for me, who am but a layman, to enter into any curious inquiry upon these matters: this is the bishops’ business, and therefore let them meet about it where they please. Now if these emperors had nothing to do in such debates, I must crave leave to say, your lordships have as little.”*

We have given this speech of the bishop of Chester almost entire, the arguments which it contains being plainly those on which his party, at that time, most confidently relied, so far at least as subjects of this nature might be treated of in a general and popular way. What weight it possessed in the opinion of his hearers we have no means of determining. It remained unanswered; but the intentions of the government also continued the same as before. The Act of Uniformity having passed, and the Service-book being formally sanctioned, the oath of supremacy was offered to the clergy, and employed as the test of their affection towards the new arrangements.

The circumstances which followed these proceedings can hardly be reflected upon without pain. Fourteen bishops, three bishops elect, one abbot, four priors, twelve deans, fourteen archdeacons, sixty canons, a hundred priests holding important benefices, and fifteen heads of colleges in Oxford and Cambridge, were severally deprived of their dignities. Even the strongest conviction of the necessity of the case cannot lessen the feeling of sorrow that it should have existed; but to those who have learnt to regard with affectionate reverence the heads and pastors of the Church, who have been accustomed to consider the orders they have received, and the stations they hold, as unlike any of the dignities which changes in the world may affect, to such, the deprivation of the bishops and other clergy spoken of above is a subject full of distressing considerations. The best apology that has been urged on the side of the government of the time, is that founded on

* Collier, part ii., b. vi., p. 238.

the fact, that the bishops now driven from their stations had, most of them, sworn to the regale in the reign of Henry VIII., and had temporized in that of Edward, so far as to offer no open, or persevering opposition, to the great measures whereby the reformation of the Church was to be finally established. When men have once yielded in a matter where inalienable rights are supposed to be concerned, they can hardly afterwards complain if the world treat those rights as if they rested but upon an ordinary foundation. It also deserves to be borne in mind, that the treatment of the clergy, in this case, was not marked by those enormous offences against spiritual dignity observable in other instances where the power of the state was exercised in affairs of religion. There was no fire or sword employed to make the ministers of God deny, or alter, some vital doctrine of the gospel. The dignitaries deprived held stations to which many temporal advantages, much of wealth, grandeur and influence, were attached, and which brought them necessarily under the observation of the state, and rendered them subject, so far as those advantages were concerned, to its policy and its will. When it was found that they were hostile to its views, that they were likely to constitute themselves into a party, the existence of which must greatly interrupt the common tranquillity of the nation, the question would naturally arise, to what degree the unassailable dignity of the mere spiritual office ought to be allowed to shield the wealth, privileges or particular stations of the individual, and which, at least in minds already disposed to make the distinction, might be viewed as not absolutely constituting any part of the state or honour which, conferred by Christ alone on his ministers, worldly potentates can never without madness attempt to invade.

One of the most striking proofs that exist of the melancholy condition in which the kingdom, for a time, was placed by these events, is the inhibition published against preaching. By virtue of ten proclamations sent to the Lord Mayor of London, “not only all preaching was forbidden for a time, but all hearing and giving audience to any doctrine or preaching.” The clergy

were ordered to confine themselves strictly to the reading of the epistle and gospel for the day, and the Ten Commandments, and that "without any manner of exposition, or addition of the sense or meaning thereof."*

It does not appear that this prohibition was long in force, for the discourses of several court preachers are mentioned as delivered in the following Lent, and the Spital sermons were preached as formerly.†

Cardinal Pole had left the see of Canterbury open, by his death, shortly after Elizabeth's succession. Dr. Parker, after a brief interval, was consecrated at Lambeth, and duly installed in the vacant dignity. It is not agreeable to the plan of this work to dwell on minute particulars; but no small degree of light is thrown upon the actual state of the Church by what is recorded of the consecration of the new archbishop. Of the four prelates by whom the service was performed, two were

* "The Quene's Majesty, understanding that there be certain persons having in times past the office of ministry in the Church, which now do purpose to use their former office in preaching and ministry, and partly have attempted the same; assembling, specially in the city of London, in sondry places, great number of people; whereupon riseth amonges the common sort not only unfruteful in matters of religion, but also contention, and occasion to break common quiet; hath therefore, according to the authoritie committed to her highness, for the quiet governaunce of all maner her subjects, thought it necessary to charge and command, like as hereby her highness doth charge and command, all maner of her subjects as well those that be called to ministry in the Church as all others, that they do forbear to preach or teach, or to gyve audience to any maner of doctrine or preachyng, other than to the gospels and epistels commonly called the gospel and epistel of the day, and to the Ten Commandments in the vulgar tongue; without exposition or addition of any maner, sense or meaning to be applyed or added; or to use any other maner of publick prayer, rite or ceremony in the Church but that which is already used and by law received; or the common letany used at this present in her majesty's own chappel, and the Lord's Prayer, and the Crede in English; until consultation may be had by parliament by her majestie and her three estates of this realme, for the better conciliation and accord of such causes as at this present are moved in matters and ceremonies of religion. The true advancement whereof, to the due honour of Almighty God, the increase of vertue and godlyness, with universal charitie and concord amonges her people, her majestie most desyreth and meaneth effectually, by all maner of means possible, to procure and to restore to this her realme. Whereunto, as her majestie instantly requireth all her good, faithful and loving subjects to be assenting and ayding with due obedience; so, if any shall disobediently use themselves to the breach thereof, her majestie both must and will see the same duely punished both for the qualitie of the offence and for example to all others neglecting her majesties so reasonable commaundment."—Strype, Ap. vol. i., pt. ii., p. 391.

† Strype's Annals, vol. i., pt. i., p. 59.

bishops elect; the third, the venerable Miles Coverdale, had no see; and the fourth was only a suffragan.* Such was the desolate state of that Church which, under God's all-powerful blessing, was at length to shine forth like a bride adorned with her jewels, in respect to the beauty and graces of her ordinances; or like a giant prepared to run his course when viewed at a later period, in regard to the fulness of its ranks, and the completeness of its ministry.

Though the battle had been won, the champions of the Reformation still deemed it necessary to show their readiness to grapple with their adversaries whenever occasion offered for a trial of strength. Thus Jewel, in preaching at Paul's Cross, loudly proclaimed, "That if any learned man of all our adversaries, or if all the learned men that are alive, are able to bring any one sufficient sentence out of any old catholic doctor or father, or out of any old general council, or out of the Holy Scriptures of God, or any one example of the primitive Church, whereby it may be plainly and clearly proved, that for the first six hundred years after Christ there was any private mass in the world; or that there was then any communion administered under one kind, or that the people had their common prayer in a language which they did not understand; or that the bishop of Rome was then called universal bishop, or head of the universal Church; or that the people were then taught to believe that Christ's body is really, substantially, corporeally, carnally or naturally in the sacrament; or that his body is, or may be, in a thousand places or more at one time; or that the priest did then hold up the sacrament over his head; or that the people did then fall down and worship it with godly, that is, divine honour; or that the sacrament was then, or now ought to be, fixed depending under a canopy; or that in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, there remain only the accidents and appearances, without the substance of bread and wine; or that the priest then divided the sacrament in three parts, and afterwards received himself all

* Strype's Annals, vol. i., pt. i. p. 60.

alone; or that whosoever had affirmed the sacrament a figure, a pledge, a token, or a remembrance of Christ's body, had been condemned for a heretic; or that it was then lawful to have thirty, twenty, fifteen, ten or five masses to be said in a church in one day; or that images were then set up in churches for people to worship them; or that the laity were then forbid to read the scriptures in the language of the country; or that it was then lawful for the priest to pronounce the words of consecration so low as to be heard by none but himself; or that the priest had then authority to offer up Christ to his Father; or to communicate and receive the sacrament for another, as they do; or to apply the virtue of Christ's death and passion to any man by means of the mass; or that it was then thought sound doctrine to affirm that the mass, "*ex opere operato*," that is, by the bare force of administration, and without regard to the qualifications of the persons receiving, is able to discharge any part of our sins; or that then any Christian called the sacrament his Lord and his God; or that the people were then taught to believe the body of Christ remains in the sacrament as long as the accidents of the bread continue without corruption; or that when Christ said, 'This is my body,' the word *this* does not refer to the bread, but to an *individuum vagum*, as some of them say; or that the accidents or appearances of bread and wine are the sacraments of Christ's body and blood, and not rather the very bread and wine itself; or that the sacrament is a sign of the body of Christ that lies hidden under it; or that ignorance is the mother of true devotion."

In conclusion, he said, "If any one of his adversaries were able to make good but a single proposition amongst all these, either by sufficient declarations in scripture, or by the testimony of the antient fathers and councils, he was ready to give up the contest, and subscribe himself a proselyte."*

This challenge of Jewel may be considered as the commencement of that boldly-sustained controversy which employed, for so long a period, the best minds

* Collier, vol. vi., part ii., b. vi., p. 303.

that felt the power of the new era. On both sides learning and ability were exhibited with profusion, and a vast mass of information was scattered abroad, which contributed, in no slight degree, to form the character and style of thought observable for a considerable time after the commencement of the controversy.

A season of great exertion was now before the clergy. The removal of images from the churches, and the settling of almost numberless other points which, remaining undetermined, defied any hope of uniformity, either in belief or worship, kept all parties in the state perpetually in movement. Agitation of a far more perilous kind prevailed in Scotland, and mighty indeed was the grace of holiness and truth proved to be, working its way, both in the one instance and in the other, through such a host of conflicting powers.

The opinions of Elizabeth on many points were but little conformable to those of the clergy; but this may be traced not so much to any difference with them on matters of doctrine, as to the peculiar sternness or self-will which often marked her conduct. This was evidently the case in regard to the marriage of the clergy. Among the other provisions which it seemed to her expedient to make for the welfare of the Church, and for the establishment of which she appears to have imagined her own wisdom and authority were to a great degree sufficient, were the injunctions which forbade "all heads and members of any college, or cathedral church, within the realm, having their wives or any other woman within the precinct of such places," and the penalty for disobedience to which was the forfeiture of "all ecclesiastical promotions belonging to any cathedral or collegiate church."

Both the order itself, and the mode of its publication, savoured of the worst spirit that was ready to show itself in the civil power at this period. This the archbishop keenly felt, for in his letter to Cecil he says, "I wonder that state should be made a crime in the clergy, which will stand the test in the last day; and that an engagement which pleases God Almighty should not please her majesty. I am at a loss to understand why her high-

ness should gratify our adversaries so far as to put us under disfavour upon this account. If our reputation is thus disabled, we shall be thrown out of capacity of doing God and her majesty service. As far as my reading and information reaches, it has been the custom of all princes, both Christian and Pagan, to countenance the ministers of religion. They thought this a necessary expedient to recommend the rules of duty, to preserve the force of conscience and support the government; but now it is our misfortune to be singled out from the rest of mankind for infamy and aversion; to be exposed to the ignorant and malicious, with marks of the last disadvantage; to be censured as if we had no regard to the circumstances of our profession, as if we were wholly resigned to appetite without the least check of discretion. The queen was so possessed with mismanagement in this matter, that she repented our being trusted with the function, and wished it had been otherwise. This discovery must be sport to the clergy of the late reign. It must be diversion to such people to see in what manner we are handled, and with what distinguishing hardship we are treated by the government: but this we shall pass over with patience, and rest the event with God Almighty."

Yet further: "Her majesty talked of setting forth injunctions of another nature; but I hope God will stop this motion and alter her purpose; and that as by the divine assistance she has begun a good work, she will hold on the same course. I do not question but these *æstus humani*, these sallies of passion, were occasioned by mis-reports, and that her majesty will acquit herself to advantage, and, like Theodosius the Great, take time for a mature deliberation, and not proceed to a sudden resolution in things of the last importance. It would trouble me if the clergy should be forced upon any in-compliance, and declare with the Apostles, that we must 'obey God rather than men;' but let those who suggest these thoughts be never so considerable, we have no small numbers in our contemptible party, that have courage and conscience enough to sacrifice their lives in defence of their religion."

Alluding then to that part of the injunction which denied to the clergy attached to cathedrals the right of living with their families, he says, "What policy can this be to drive hospitality out of such quarters? To drive away the preachers from the best towns in the kingdom? When such places are well instructed, the example reaches the country, and the villages are kept in order the better: but, on the other side, for the dignified clergy to stay at their cathedrals upon such terms of public disgrace, which way is it to be endured? What person that has any regard for his credit will live under affronts, and continue in a place where his character is maimed and murdered? To see the clergy thus particularly discouraged when all other people have their liberty, is a melancholy reflection. Besides, this injunction might have had its force in preventing abuses, without disparaging the reputation of the clergy. For my part, I wish I had never engaged in this station, since her majesty has been pleased to discover her disesteem in so remarkable a manner. I have endeavoured to serve her majesty to my power, and I humbly conceive, have done it in no contemptible instances. By the punctual execution of her orders, I have gained the ill-will both of Papists and Protestants; but my being conscious of serving God and her highness, made me easy under obloquy and censure. But the reception I had yesterday from her majesty, and the earnest forcing that progress-hunting injunction upon the clergy, and an order drawn up without advising with any ecclesiastic, this has put me quite under hatches, and indisposed me for all other business; so that I can only mourn to God Almighty, in amaritudine animæ meæ, ut dicam cum Sara, 'Peto Dominum, ut de vinculo improprietatis hujus absolvas me, aut certe desuper terram eripias me.'"^{*}

The convocation which met in 1562 determined upon a certain modification of the forty-two articles published in the former reign, and which were now reduced in number to thirty-nine.† A riper experience taught the heads of the Church to guard with extreme caution against severity of feeling in aught that did not regard

^{*} Collier, t. vi., pt. ii., b. vi., p. 335. † Strype's Annals, vol. i., p. 487.

purity of faith and manners. They saw, even among the members of their own order, sufficient difference of opinion on many points to furnish them with reasons for exercising moderation towards others. Pious as they were, and impressed with a most lively sense of the value of every tittle of divine truth, they had a personal and practical conviction of the possibility of union being secured, though much liberty was allowed to opinions not essential to the completeness of evangelical confession.*

Both necessity and charity were consulted in this mode of procedure. That it did not result from any feeling of indifference respecting the value of entire conformity of opinion, may be concluded from the character of the men intrusted with the arrangement of ecclesiastical affairs at this period. Many of them had suffered long and patiently the sorrows of exile, and had hazarded their lives for the sake of points in their confession, which, had they been loose or careless professors, or even inclined to liberalism, in the modern sense of the word, might have been easily reduced to things of little importance. The measures, moreover, taken to secure conformity in matters of discipline and worship, were not those of men who thought lightly of ecclesiastical rule, or who could entertain the notion that, supposing the laws of the realm be not interfered with, religion will be as safe among sects, calling themselves a church, as under the ministrations of a church possessing all the signs of an apostolic origin, unity, order, discipline, and well-proved spiritual power.

* Fuller says, "Some have unjustly taxed the composers for too much favour extended in their large expressions, clean through the contexture of these *articles*, which should have tied men's consciences up closer in more strict and particularizing propositions, which, indeed, proceeded from their commendable moderation. Children's clothes ought to be made of the biggest, because afterwards their bodies will grow up to their garments. Thus the *articles* of this *English Protestant Church*, in the *infancy thereof*, they thought good to draw up in general terms, foreseeing that posterity would grow up to fill the same. I mean, these holy men did prudently pre-discover that differences in judgment would unavoidably happen in the *Church*, and were loath to *unchurch* any, and drive them off from an *ecclesiastical communion* for such petty differences, which made them pen the *articles* in comprehensive words, to take in all who, differing in the branches, meet in the root of the same religion."—Cent. xvi., b. ix., p. 72.

The state of affairs in Scotland was every day becoming more troubled and perplexed. Violence of temper and purpose characterized the men who had chief influence in the country. But melancholy as were many of the consequences resulting therefrom, they are not to be regarded in the same light as those which were the proper fruit of that long-nourished corruption which doomed both the Church and nation to an equivalent period of agitation and suffering. Much was sacrificed in the eventful struggle, but the gospel itself triumphed. The Church of Christ had again a voice in the land: its ministers by their devout zeal ornamented the courts of the house of the Lord with the trophies of many a spiritual victory; and though it is impossible not to lament what we conceive to have been the effect of a blind hostility, of an enmity not less implacable against what was but accidentally and superficially corrupt, than when rightly indulged against incurable evil, yet this may be well pardoned, when the balance is found to preponderate to so vast a degree on the side of pure religion and its truest interests.

We can but allude to the events out of the vortex of which the Church of Scotland was drawn by the mighty hand of the Saviour. That it should have risen without an utter loss of its ministerial functions, that it should have had so much life and power, can be ascribed only to his present blessing. It was one of the many miracles of his grace at this period, that it did not lose the very form of a church, and with it the larger portion of the instruments and forces which alone can enable a church to fulfil its ministerial responsibilities. There are considerations belonging to the whole of this subject, eminently calculated to inspire a thoughtful mind with solemn and grateful views of the providence of God in the care of his people. The methods employed by men when excited by their own eager thoughts, are rarely calculated to effect even the object most dear to their hopes. Their very zeal for the honour of God is full of proofs of self-sufficiency, or dependence on human means. They sweep away what offends their present conceit; haughtily pretend to the right of legislating for

future ages, when they themselves are despising the teaching of all past times; and think and speak as if God, by a most wonderful act of selection, had conferred upon them more grace and wisdom than upon the whole multitude of his servants who lived before their days.

When out of convulsions thus produced, the faith of the gospel rises in its full power and beauty, and the main instruments of its continued diffusion are happily preserved and put into better order, the Church of Christ, wherever planted, beholds the triumph of its common interests; and is taught to hope, that the infirmities of the disciples and servants of Jesus will never be allowed to destroy the fruit of their labours, or to prevent their success, in so far as they are striving to secure the main objects of the Church's institution.

It was not to be expected that the opinions, and still less, the tastes and feelings, engendered by many English divines during their exile, would yield at once either to arguments on the side of peace and expediency, or to the force of law, and state injunctions. The seeds of puritanism were sown deep in the hearts of large numbers of the reformers. Of these, some were influenced in their conduct by no other sentiment than that of love for the gospel, considered apart from every thing else, and as sufficient of itself, give it but a voice, to bring men to faith and holiness. The reformers of this class contemplated with jealousy every instrument employed for the inculcating of religious feeling. They imagined that there must ever be a tendency to honour the means more than the truth, and that, consequently, every instrument and every form, not absolutely necessary to the direct publication of the gospel, ought to be regarded in the light of an evil, and as silently conducing to a species of idolatry.

Though the zeal of this class of puritans often partook of a fierceness of temper, of a disposition the most opposed to the meekness and charity of a Christian spirit, they were, for the most part, influenced by holiness of principle, and exhibited in their conduct the perfect sincerity of their devotion to the gospel. But they were imitated in nothing but their infirmities

by a great body of those who professed like opinions. The factious love of opposition; the appetite for change not yet surfeited; the desire of a licentious liberty, in which no one being obliged to submit to public government, every one might have the chance of playing the tyrant privately; these furnished the motives to many of the most active leaders in the new movement of the reformed Church.

No better proof can be given of the distress which the agitation thus created excited in the minds of good men, than that Fox, the martyrologist, expressed himself on the subject with mingled grief and disgust. He had so little of the violence of the opposite party about him, that he refused to take the oath of conformity; and when no other voice was raised on the side of mercy, protested loudly to the queen against the most wicked offence of which she and her counsellors were guilty, in condemning to the flames two miserable and ignorant Anabaptists.* When a man of this kind could be found to speak in terms so strong as those employed by Fox, the party accused can hardly be supposed to have possessed those virtues of perfect Christian holiness, to the credit of which it laid claim. *Quis tam turbulentus genius factiosa ista Puritanorum capita afflaverit? Flagrat collegium hoc horribili factione.* These are expressions which no man in his senses, or with a fair portion of charity, would use, unless he felt intensely convinced of the errors or hypocrisy of those to whom they applied. Fox had been irritated, it appears, by the expulsion of his son from Magdalene college, Oxford, of which he was a fellow; the only ground of accusation against the young man being, that he had travelled beyond the seas without permission. The president of the college, as well as Fox himself, had openly declared his objections to subscription; but his efforts in favour of the expelled fellow were treated with the same scorn as the father's, and both of these venerable men were accused of the most culpable lukewarmness in the cause of pure religion.

The death of archbishop Parker seemed, for the

* Fuller, cent. xvi., b. ix., p. 104. Collier, vol. vi., p. 554.

moment, an event in no slight degree favourable to the puritans. That excellent prelate had stated plainly, that "if the precisians had the ascendant, and prevailed in the administration, her majesty would be undone." In the same tone, he spoke "of the inconstancy of some of the bishops;" and complained that "several of that order lay by, and signified little; and that some others endeavoured to undermine him." "Her majesty," he says, "once told him that he had a supreme government ecclesiastical; but which, upon experiment, he finds very much hampered and embarrassed." In reference to the controversies respecting forms, he observed, that he was "not so much concerned for the tippet, surplice, or such like ceremonies, as for the authority of the laws which enjoined them; and that if public provisions were once disregarded and treated with contempt, the government must sink, of course." *

Grindal, who was, in the course of a few months, appointed to the vacant see, entertained strong opinions respecting the nature of preaching, or, as it was then generally termed, *prophesying*. But so many abuses had attended the increase of the practice, that his notions on the subject were combated in several quarters with considerable violence. This, however, did not alter his opinion, that it was only by diligent preaching and frequent conferences among the clergy, that the nation at large could be imbued with the knowledge of Christian doctrine. In order, therefore, to preserve the liberty which he considered to be so essential to the good of the people, but at the same time ward off abuses, he issued the following directions: "1. That the said exercises are to be used only in such churches, and at such times, as the bishop of the diocese, under his hand and seal, shall appoint. 2. That in all assemblies for such conferences, either the archdeacon, if he be a divine, or else some other grave and learned graduate, at least, be appointed by the bishop to moderate at the exercises. 3. That a list of the names of such as are supposed qualified to speak in those exercises be given in; and that such parts of the scripture shall be only handled as the

* Collier, vol. vi., p. 551.

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bishop shall appoint. 4. That the rest of the ministers who have no talent for speaking in public, shall have the exposition of some part of scripture assigned them as a task by the moderators; and that those tasks shall be read privately before the ministers only, and not before the laity. 5. That no lay person be allowed to speak publicly in those assemblies. 6. That no man in the course of his exercise shall be suffered to libel the Church or state, or censure any person, public or private, either by broad satire or more covert inuendoes. And when any one happens to run riot in this manner, he shall be immediately silenced by the moderator. And here the bishop was to be certified why the check was given; and the party receiving this rebuke, was not to be re-admitted to any share in the exercise without the bishop's approbation, and making an acknowledgment of his misbehaviour."

The seventh article is to the same purport as the preceding; and in the eighth it is laid down, "that no ministers barred the pulpit, or deprived for nonconformity, should be allowed to speak in these exercises; that every diocesan should be particularly careful in this matter, and not suffer any persons to expound scripture, and make any discourses at this meeting, excepting those who subscribed the articles of religion, and conformed to the Church establishment."*

Objections of no small weight existed to the practice here spoken of. It was urged, "1. That many modest ministers, and those profitable preachers in their private parishes, were loath to appear in this public way, which made them undeservedly slighted and neglected by others; 2. That many young men of more boldness than learning, readiness than solidity, carried away the credit, to the great disheartening of those of more age and ability; 3. That this consort of preachers kept not always time and tune amongst themselves, much jarring of personal reflections often disturbing their harmony; 4. That many would make impertinent excursions from their text to inveigh against the present discipline and government of the Church: such

* Fuller, b. ix., p. 121. Collier, vol. vi., part ii., b. vi., p. 565.

preachers being more plausible to the people generally best pleased with them, who manifest their disaffection against the present authority; 5. That a wise person was often wanting to moderate the moderator, partially passing his censures rather according to affection than judgment; 6. That people factiously cried up, some one minister, some another, to the disgrace of God's ordinance; and 7. That these prophesyings being accounted the *fairs* for spiritual merchandizes, made the weekly markets for the same holy commodities on the Lord's day to be less respected, and ministers to be neglected in their respective parishes."

It was on these considerations that the queen is said to have founded her dislike to the conferences of ministers, in which they assembled for the exercise of preaching and mutual expositions of scripture. What abuses had crept into these meetings may be easily conceived; but it is difficult to believe that a man like Grindal, so interested by his very station in preserving the good order of the Church, should have persevered in supporting the practice of these assemblies, had they not been found profitable for the times and the advancement of learning and piety. Elizabeth was jealous of every proceeding which might remotely endanger her authority over the Church. In this feeling she was encouraged by her principal advisers, and there is reason to fear that she not rarely blinded her better understanding, and set aside many arguments to which her piety would have allowed their proper degree of force, through the suspicion that whatever was done contrary to her taste was undertaken in the spirit of schism or disaffection.

Her views of preaching were evidently derived from the imperfect manner in which the duty had hitherto been performed. Three or four preachers were sufficient, she contended, for each county; more were only likely to inflame the people with the love of novelty, and give rise to infinite disputes. This could never have been said by Elizabeth had she understood the real necessities of her subjects, or been ready to give a patient attention to the reasoning of the good men, who

knew so much better than the best of her political advisers what were the dangers and difficulties of the times.

The letter which Grindal, grieved at the displeasure of his sovereign, wrote in defence of his proceedings, deserved the weightiest consideration. After expressions of loyalty and gratitude, he says, "Never do I intend to offend your majesty in any thing, unless in the cause of God or his Church, by necessity of office and burden laid upon me, and burden of conscience, I shall thereunto be enforced. And in these cases, which I trust in God shall never be urged upon me, if I should use dissembling silence, I should very ill requite so many your majesty's and so great benefits; for in so doing both you might fall into peril towards God, and I myself into endless damnation. The prophet Ezekiel termeth us ministers of the Church *speculatores*, and not *adulatores*. If we, therefore, see the sword coming by reason of any offence towards God, we must of necessity give warning, else the blood of those that perish will be required at our hands."

Having, in the next place, cited instances from Scripture in which kings were shown to render a willing ear to the teaching of holy men, he continues: "Surely I cannot marvel enough how this strange opinion should once enter into your mind, that it should be good for the Church to have few preachers. Alas! madam, is the Scripture more plain in any thing, than that the gospel of Christ should be plentifully preached; and that plenty of labourers should be sent into the Lord's harvest, which, being great and large, standeth in need, not of a few, but of many workmen? There was appointed to the building of Solomon's material Temple, artificers and labourers, besides three thousand overseers; and shall we think that a few preachers may suffice to the building and edifying of the spiritual Temple of Christ, which is his Church? And in this place, I beseech your majesty to note one thing necessary to be noted, which is this: If the Holy Ghost prescribeth expressly, that preachers should be placed *oppidatim*, how can it then well be thought

that three or four preachers may suffice for a shire? Public and continual preaching of God's Word is the ordinary means and instrument of the salvation of mankind. St. Paul calleth it the ministry of reconciliation of man unto God. By the preaching of God's Word, the glory of God is increased and enlarged, faith nourished, and charity increased; by it the ignorant are instructed, the negligent exhorted and incited, the stubborn rebuked, the weak conscience comforted, and to all those who sin of malicious wickedness, the wrath of God is threatened. By preaching, also, due obedience to God and Christian princes and magistrates is planted in the hearts of subjects, for obedience proceedeth of conscience, conscience is grounded upon the Word of God, and the Word of God worketh its effect by preaching; so as generally where preaching wanteth, obedience faileth."

Referring then to what had been said respecting the use of homilies, set forth by authority, instead of preaching, he observes, "The reading of homilies hath its commodities; but it is nothing comparable to the office of preaching. The godly preacher is learned in the gospel. *Fidelis servus qui novit*, who can apply his speech to the diversity of times, places and hearers, which cannot be done in homilies. Besides, homilies were devised by godly bishops in your brother's days, only to supply necessity, by want of preachers; and are, by the statute, not to be preferred, but to give place to sermons wheresoever they may be had, and were never thought in themselves to contain alone sufficient instruction for the Church of England; for it was then found, as it is found now, that this Church of England hath been by appropriations, and that not without sacrilege, spoiled of the livings which at the first were appointed to the office of preaching and teaching, which appropriations were first annexed to abbeys, and after came to the crown, and now are disposed to private men's possessions, without hope to reduce the same to the original institution. So that at this day, in my opinion, where one church is able to yield sufficient living to a learned preacher, there are, at

the least, seven churches unable to do the same In such parishes, as it is not possible to place able preachers, for want of convenient stipend, if every flock might have a preaching pastor, which is rather to be wished than hoped for, then were reading of homilies altogether unnecessary; but to supply that want of preaching God's Word, which is the food of the soul growing upon the necessities before mentioned, both in your brother's time and in your time also, certain homilies have been devised, that the people should not altogether be destitute of instruction; for it is an old proverb, 'Better a loaf than no bread.'

But it was not of mere preaching only that he had to speak; a more difficult question was involved in the doubts expressed respecting the conferences of the clergy. Of these he says, "Concerning the learned exercises and conferences amongst the ministers of the Church, I have consulted with divers of my brethren, the bishops, who think the same, as I do, a thing profitable to the Church, and therefore expedient to be continued; and I trust your majesty will think the like when your majesty shall have been informed of the matter and order thereof, what authority it hath of the scriptures, what commodity it bringeth with it, and what discommodities will follow if it be clean taken away. The authors of this exercise are the bishops of the diocese where this same is used, who, by the law of God, and by the canons and constitutions of the Church now in force, have authority to appoint exercises to their inferior ministers for increase of learning, and knowledge in the scriptures, as to them seemeth most expedient; for that pertaineth *ad disciplinam clericalem*. The time appointed for this exercise is once in a month, or once in twenty or fifteen days, at the discretion of the ordinary. The time of this exercise is two hours; the place the church of the district, appointed for the assembly; the matter entreated of is as followeth: Some text of scripture, before appointed to be spoken, is interpreted in this order; first, the occasion of the place is showed; secondly, the end; thirdly, the proper sense of the place; fourthly, the property of the words, those that be learned

in the tongues, showing the diversity of interpretation ; fifthly, where the like phrases are used in scriptures ; sixthly, places of scripture that seem to repugn are reconciled ; seventhly, the arguments of the text are opened ; eighthly, it is declared what virtues and vices are therein couched, and to which of the commandments they do appertain ; ninthly, how the like hath been wrested by the adversary, if occasion so require ; tenthly, and lastly, what doctrine of faith and manners the said text doth contain. The conclusion is with a prayer for your majesty, and all estates, as is appointed by the book of Common Prayer, and a psalm."

" These orders following are also observed by the said exercise: first, two or three of the gravest and best learned pastors are appointed of the bishops to be moderators in every assembly. No man may speak, unless he be first allowed by the bishop, with this proviso, that no layman be suffered to speak at any time ; no controversy of this present time and state shall be moved and dealt withal ; if any attempt the contrary, he is put to silence by the moderator ; none is suffered to glance openly or covertly at persons, public or private ; neither yet any one to confute one another. If any man utter a wrong sense of scripture, he is privately admonished thereof, and better instructed by the moderators and other his fellow ministers. If any man use immoderate speeches, or unreverend gesture or behaviour, or otherwise be suspected in life, he is likewise admonished as aforesaid ; if any man do vilify or break these orders, he is presented to the bishop to be corrected."

Having thus stated the plan and regulations of the conferences, the archbishop continues : " The ground of this or like exercise is of great and antient authority ; for Samuel did practise such like exercises in his time at Naioth in Ramath and Bethel. So did Elizeas the prophet at Jericho, which studious persons in those days were called *filii prophetarum*, the disciples of the prophets ; that being exercised in the knowledge and study of the scriptures, they might be able men to serve in God's Church, as that time required. St. Paul also doth make express mention, 1 Cor. xiv., that the like in effect

was used in the primitive Church, and giveth order for the same, that two or three should speak, by course, he meaneth, and the rest shall keep silence. That exercise in the Church in those days St. Paul calleth *prophetia*, and the speaker propheta, terms very odious in our days to some, because they are not rightly understood; for indeed propheta in that and like places of the same Paul, doth not, as it doth sometimes, signify prediction of things to come, which thing, or which gift, is not now ordinary in the Church of God, but signifieth thereby the assent and consent of the scriptures. And therefore doth St. Paul attribute unto these that he called *prophetæ* in that chapter, *doctrinam ad ædificationem, exortationem et consolationem*. This gift of expounding and interpreting the scriptures was, in St. Paul's time, given unto many by a special miracle, without study, so was also by miracle the gift to speak strange tongues, which they had never learned. But now miracles ceasing, men must attain to the Hebrew, Greek and Latin tongues, &c. By travel and study God giveth the increase; so must men also attain by the like means to the gifts of expounding and interpreting the scriptures; and, amongst other helps, nothing is so necessary as these above-named exercises and conferences amongst the ministers of the Church, which in effect are all one with the exercises of students in divinity in the universities, saving that the first are done in a tongue understood to the more edifying of the learned hearers."

This statement is followed by the names of several of the bishops who had expressed their approval of the proceedings described, and had found by experience, it was stated, the great benefit of their adoption. "The ministers of the Church," says the archbishop, "are more skilful and more ready in the scriptures, and more apt to teach their flocks. It withdraweth them from idleness, wandering, gaming, &c. Some afore suspected in doctrine are brought to the knowledge of the truth, ignorant ministers are driven to study, if not for conscience, yet for shame and fear of discipline. The opinion of laymen touching the ableness of the

clergy is hereby removed; nothing, by experience, beateth down popery more than that. Ministers, as some of my brethren do confess, grow to such knowledge by means of those exercises, that where afore were not able ministers, not three, now are thirty, able and meet to preach at Paul's Cross, and forty or fifty besides able to instruct their own cures; so as it is found by experience the best means to increase knowledge in the simple, and to continue it in the learned, only backward men in religion, and continuers of learning, in the countries abroad do fret against it; which, in truth, doth the more commend it. The dissolution of it would breed triumph to the adversary, and great sorrow and grief to the favourers of religion, contrary to the counsel of Ezekiel, xiii. 18, who saith, *Cor justī non est contristandum*; and, although some have abused this good and necessary exercise, there is no reason that the malice of a few should prejudice all. Abuses may be reformed, and that which is good may remain, neither is there any just cause of offence to be taken, if diverse men make diverse senses of one sentence of scripture, so that all the senses be good and agreeable to the analogy and proportion of faith; for otherwise we must needs condemn all the antient fathers and divers of the Church, who most commonly expound one and the same text of scripture diversely, and yet all to the good of the Church: and, therefore, doth Basil compare the scriptures to a well, out of which the more a man draweth, the better and sweeter is the water. I trust when your majesty hath considered and weighed the premises you will rest satisfied, and judge that no such inconveniences can grow of such exercises as these, as you have been informed; but rather the clean contrary. And for my own part, because I am well assured by reasons, and also by arguments taken out of the Holy Scriptures, by experience, the most certain seal of sure knowledge, that the said exercises for the interpretation and exposition of the scriptures, and for the exhortation and comfort drawn out of the same, are both profitable to increase knowledge amongst ministers, and tendeth to the edifying of the hearers."

Having given these reasons for his approval of the system in question, he adds, and that with a feeling of all possible importance to the Church at such a period, "I am inforced with all humility, and yet plainly to profess, that I cannot, with safe conscience, and without the offence of the majesty of God, give mine assent to the suppressing of the said exercises, much less can I send out any injunction for the utter and universal subversion of the same. I say, with St. Paul, I have no power to destroy, but only to edify; and, with the same Apostle, I can do nothing against the truth but with the truth. If it be your majesty's pleasure for this or any other cause to remove me out of this place, I will, with all humility, yield thereunto, and render again unto your majesty that which I have received of the same. I consider with myself, *quod terrendum est incidere in manus Dei viventis*. I consider also, *quod qui facit contra conscientiam (divinis in rebus) edificat ad gehennam*. And what shall I win if I gained, I will not say a bishopric, but the whole world, and lose my own soul? Bear with me, I beseech you, madam, if I choose rather to offend your earthly majesty, than to offend the heavenly Majesty of God."

The conclusion of this admirable epistle must have been still less palatable to the haughty temper of Elizabeth. "And now, being sorry that I have been so long and tedious to your majesty, I will draw to an end, most humbly praying the same, that you would consider these short petitions following: The first, that you would refer all these ecclesiastical matters which touch religion, or the doctrine or discipline of the Church, unto the bishops and divines of the Church of your realm, according to the example of all Christian emperors and princes of all ages; for indeed they are to be judged, as an antient father writeth, *in ecclesia seu synodo, non in palatino*. When your majesty hath questions of the laws of your realm, you do not decide the same in your court or palace, but send them to your judges to be determined; likewise for the duties in matters of doctrine or discipline of the Church, the ordinary way is to defer the decision to the bishops

and other head ministers of the Church. Ambrose to Theodosius useth these words : *Si de causis pecuniariis comites tuos consulis ; quanto magis in causâ religionis sacerdotes Domini æquum est consulas.* And likewise to the emperor Valentinian, *Si de fide conferendum est, sacerdotum debet esse justa collatio, sic enim factum est Constantino augustæ memoriæ principe qui, nullas leges ante præmisit, sed liberum dedit iudicium sacerdotis.* And, in the same place, the same father saith, that Constantius, the emperor, son to Constantine the Great, began well, by reason he followed his father's steps at the first, but ended ill, because he took upon him *difficile intra palatinum judicare*, and thereby fell into Arianism. The said Ambrose, so much commended in all histories for a godly bishop, goeth further, and writeth to the the said emperor in this form : *Si docendus est episcopus à laico, quid sequitur ? Laicus ergo disputet, et episcopus audeat à laico. At certè, si vel scripturarum seruum divinarum, vel vetera tempora retractemus, quis est qui abundat in causâ fidei, inquam fidei, episcopos solere de imperatoribus Christianis, non imperatores de episcopis judicare.* Would God your majesty would follow this ordinary ! you should procure to yourself much quietness of mind, and better please God, avoid many offences, and the Church should be more peaceable and quietly governed, much to the comfort and quietness of your realm. The second petition I have to make to your majesty is this, that when you deal in matters of faith and religion, or matters that touch the Church of Christ, which is the spouse, bought with so dear a price, you would not rise to pronounce so resolutely and peremptorily, quasi ex autoritate, as you may do in civil and extern matters ; but always remember that in God's cause, the will of God, and not the will of any earthly creature, is to take place. It is the antichristian voice of the pope, *Sic volo, sic jubeo, stet pro ratione voluntas.*

“ In God's matters, all princes ought to bow their sceptres to the Son of God, and to ask counsel at his mouth what they ought to do. David exhorteth all kings and rulers to serve God with fear and trembling.

Remember, madam, that you are a mortal creature ; look not only, as was said to Theodosius, upon the purple, and princely array wherewith you are apparelled, but consider withal what it is that is covered therewith. Is it not flesh and blood ? Is it not dust and ashes ? Is it not a corruptible body which must return to her earth again, God knoweth how soon ? Must you not one day appear, *ante tremendum tribunal crucifiri, ut recipias ibi prout gesseris in corpore, sive bonum, sive malum.* And although you are a mighty prince, yet remember that He that dwelleth in heaven is mightier, as the psalmist saith, *Terribilis est is qui aufert spiritum principum, terribilis super omnes reges.* Wherefore I beseech you, madam, *in visceribus Christi*, when you deal in these religious causes, set the Majesty of God before your eyes, laying all earthly majesty aside ; determine with yourself to obey his voice, and with all humility say unto him, *Non mea, sed tua voluntas fiat.* God hath blessed you with great felicity in your reign now many years. Beware you do not impute this same to your own deserts or policy, but give God the glory ; and as to instruments and means, impute your said felicity, first, to the goodness of the cause which you set forth, I mean Christ's true religion ; and, secondly, to the sighs and groans of the godly in fervent prayer to God for you, which have hitherto, as it were, tied and bound the hands of God, that he could not pour out his plagues upon you and your people, most justly deserved. Take heed that you never think of declining from God, lest it be verified of you which is written of Joash, who continued a prince of good and goodly government for many years together, and afterwards, *cum corroboratus esset elevatum est cor ejus in interitum suum, et neglexit Deum.* You have done many things well, but unless you persevere to the end, you cannot be blessed ; for if you turn from God, then will He turn his merciful countenance from you, and what remaineth then to be looked for, but only a horrible expectation of God's judgment, and an heaping up of God's wrath against the day of wrath. But I trust, in God, your majesty will always humble yourself under his mighty hand, and go forward

in the godly and zealous setting forth of God's true religion, always yielding true obedience and reverence to the Word of God, the only rule of faith and religion. And if you so do, although God hath just cause many ways to be angry with you and us for our unthankfulness, yet I doubt nothing, but for his own name and sake, He will still hold his merciful hand over us, shield and protect us under the shadow of his wings, as He hath hitherto done. I beseech God, our heavenly Father, plentifully to pour his principal Spirit upon you, and always direct your heart in his holy fear. Amen! Amen!"*

It is hard to conceive how a Christian sovereign could be addressed in language like this, and remain unmoved by the appeal; but neither of the parties that had greatest influence at court desired the success of principles so pure and upright as those advocated by the good archbishop. The advisers of the crown most famed for political sagacity, scarcely deigned to conceal the jealousy with which they regarded every movement on the side of the Church; while it was notorious that such men as Leicester would have readily sacrificed the whole to the puritans, or to any other party, the successes of which might open to them the prospect of fresh spoliation.†

* Fuller, cent. xvi., b. ix., p. 123. "What," says the venerable historian, "could be written with more spirit and less animosity, more humility and less dejection? I see a lamb in his own, can be a lion in God and his Church's cause. Say not that *orbitas* and *senectus*, the two things which made the man speak so boldly to the tyrant (Plutarch's *Morals*), only encouraged Grindal in this his writing, whose necessary boldness did arise, partly from confidence in the goodness of the cause, for which, partly from the graciousness of the queen, to whom, he made his address."

† It is of importance to observe, that Grindal's sentiments had not their origin in any love for the puritans. While archbishop of York he had written to the chancellor of Cambridge, "to take some speedy course against Cartwright, who, in his readings, did daily make invectives against the eastern policy and distinctions of states in the ecclesiastical government, with other assertions uttered by him publicly." He showed how the youth there, frequenting his lectures in great numbers, were in danger to be poisoned, as he expressed, with a love of contention and liking of novelty, and so might become hereafter unprofitable, nay, hurtful to the Church. His advice and judgment was, that he the chancellor should write to the vice-chancellor with expedition, to command Cartwright and all his adherents to silence, both in schools and pulpits; and afterwards, upon examinations and hearing of the matters before him, and some of the heads, to reduce the

The solemn and faithful admonitions of Grindal being neglected, the national Church was every day more exposed to evils which were the natural result of its diminished activity. It could hardly fail to be the case, that the clergy, finding themselves exposed to a rude and unnatural opposition, would lose by rapid degrees much of the fervour acquired in the contemplation of their original position. There are minds so happily constituted, or rather so blessed by large infusions of heavenly grace, that danger and difficulty seem but sent to arouse them to a more profitable exercise of their energies. This, however, is not the case with the generality of even good and conscientious men; they may not yield to any temptation injurious to ordinary consistency, but it is far from common to find them persevering in the course to which they were led by circumstances and impulses calculated to excite hopes of signal success. The times of Elizabeth followed immediately upon a season which had all the remarkable characteristics of a period consecrated to religious revivals. Men had been brought up and tutored during that period, as destined for extraordinary efforts, as chosen to do more for God and the Church of Christ than their predecessors for ages past. A tone was thereby given to their thoughts which rendered it above all things difficult to make them believe that they could do too much in the service of holiness; that they could preach too much or too earnestly, or that they could insist with a zeal not fit or profitable, because ardent, on the worth of evangelical ordinances, on the superiority of the Church to temporal institutions, or on any thing whatsoever which belonged to the grand system established for the conversion of the world.

When the cold, suspicious policy of Elizabeth's advisers, and the stern, ungracious demands of Elizabeth herself, were urged with angry haste against men feeling as we have described, nothing was more probable than that they would either allow their minds, broken or chilled by the opposition, to yield; or disgusted, but not subdued,

offenders to conformity, or to expel them out of the colleges or the university, as the cause should require; and also that the vice-chancellor should not suffer Cartwright to proceed doctor of divinity at the approaching commencement, which he had sued for.—*Strype's Annals*, vol. i., part ii., p. 375.

immediately begin to consider whether the national Church was indeed the only sphere within which it was possible for them to promote the interests of true holiness. In the course of such an inquiry, some would doubtless be led to suspect that little good had been done by the Reformation, and that though for the time much of evil had been removed, the low and subject state of the Church would soon permit the return of some of the worst abuses under which it had formerly groaned. According, therefore, to the different character of different minds, some would recollect, with tender regret, the sacrifices made of things which had only been parted with as a price paid for the expected restoration of the independence of the Church, and all its attendant blessings.* Others would indulge in more angry feelings of resentment, and look with no slight degree of complacency on the machinations of the papal emissaries; while those of another class, full of enthusiastic notions respecting their spiritual attainments, would rejoice at the progress made by the leaders of the puritans.

The consequences were such as might have been anticipated. Jesuits soon appeared in different parts of the country, and their work was carried on with a zeal and sagacity sufficient to endanger both the kingdom and the Church. Elizabeth has received credit for much which did not belong to her. The religious policy of her court exhibited as little wisdom as piety. It was the rough rude working of power seeking little else than its own aggrandizement, and manifesting an almost utter blindness to the rights of the Church, on the one side, and to the rights of conscience on the other. The growth of the seed sown by Romish emissaries was rapid and extensive. That it did not bear the expected fruit must be ascribed to the good providence of God, and to that grace and wisdom which He mercifully bestowed

* Thus, notwithstanding the care that was taken but the last year, that all justices and other gentlemen through the kingdom should subscribe to the Act of Uniformity, and promise for themselves and their families duly to come to common prayer and sacraments, yet the temper of their minds was the same, and many of them bore favourable hearts to the old superstition. And these did too often, where they could pick occasion, use rigour towards such as more sincerely and earnestly served God and read the scriptures.—*Strype's Annals*, vol. i., part ii., p. 369.

upon those who had otherwise fallen victims to the efforts of the adversary. In the succeeding reign full proof was given of the desperate plans entered upon from time to time for the ruin of the Reformed Church. That such things would have been attempted without a prospect of success can hardly be imagined, nor does it admit of much doubt that the hopes thus conceived were mainly indebted for their existence to errors committed in the reign of Elizabeth.

But if this may be said with regard to the Romanist party, with far greater reason can it be asserted in respect to the puritans. The origin of this party may, it is true, be traced to some of the most common principles of human feeling; but the Church itself had neither forgotten their existence, nor despised their workings. Without sacrificing an atom of the sacred deposit committed to its charge, without in anywise incurring the sin of wantonly opposing the teaching of catholic antiquity, or throwing off the responsibility of government, it had shown so much of tender regard for conscience, so cautious a spirit in fixing the limits, or determining the terms, of communion, that many of those who felt most strongly on the side of the puritans found that the greatest difficulty with which they had to contend was created by the moderation and charity of the Church. Nor ought this to be regarded with wonder; moderation, founded on a clear knowledge of the truth, and a deeply conscious resolution to defend it, at any hazard or sacrifice, is the firmest bulwark that any institution can raise against opponents. The Church itself might have made converts of all, and saved the country from the numberless evils attendant upon religious strife; but it was not left to pursue its own course, or work according to its own principles. The views it had taken were not those of courts or senates, and, when driven to a compromise, it lost the power which it had otherwise enjoyed to gather together the mass of the people into its bosom. It stood responsible for errors not its own, and even for offences committed in the first instance against itself. The legitimate claims which it had, as a Church, to respect and obedience, were con-

founded with demands which had an origin foreign to its nature and design. It thus became an object of suspicion. Whatever it did or taught was subject to criticism, and popular prejudice was often enlisted against its best efforts to promote the diffusion of heavenly truth. On the other hand, the opponents of the Church enjoyed the advantage, so generally laid hold of by the adversaries of institutions, of appearing altogether on the side of liberty and simple truth. They had no league with the government, and were free to indulge their admirers in every caprice which did not immediately trench upon the right and spirit of opposition. There was nothing to be laid to their charge on the side of the people. Even the most zealous for the absolute authority of the pope or the Church could now use the language of demagogues, without fear of contradiction; for the advocates of the most unlimited tyranny will often as readily find supporters, if opposed to constituted authorities, however liberal, as those of the latter when resisting the most unjust aggressions.

Nothing can better prove the low estate of the Church at this time than the rapidly declining power of the convocation; it was fast ceasing to have a voice in ecclesiastical affairs. The venerable primate had virtually been degraded by the angry temper evinced at court respecting his proceedings; and it required minds of a firmer and more elevated character than those which appeared among the clergy of the day, to reinstate them in their proper position.

The increase of puritanism was more to be dreaded by the anxious friends of the Church than any movement of the Romanist party. So much had been done towards enlightening the people, so much had been proved against the papal system, that the good sense of the nation, as well as religious feeling, was believed to be effectually enlisted against Rome. The dangers arising from the present efforts of its emissaries were such as might be looked for while the remains of the vanquished party still retained a sense of injury or disgrace. They were to be viewed accordingly, and guarded against, as those resulting from any other con-

spiracy. But it was not thus in respect to the puritans. They had done nothing which compelled them to precipitate their plans, and instead of separating from the Church, it was rather in their view to subdue it to themselves, and mould it according to the principles which they advocated. Powerful friends at court were always at hand to protect them against the influence or complaints of the bishops; and impelled only as they seemed to be by a conscientious desire still further to purify the Church, it was hardly possible for them to fail in persuading many men of ardent piety to join their ranks.

To an observant eye, there was another feature in the present state of the puritans calculated to excite considerable alarm: they were no longer a body kept up by accidental sympathies.* Occasions had been found, and taken advantage of, for introducing certain principles of government into the party. Thus at one of the meetings of its leaders it was determined to issue certain decrees, the object of which it is not very difficult to discover. For, after it is ordered that no man should offer himself for the ministry "till called thereto by some certain church," it is further directed, that such as are so called should make the matter known "unto that *classis* or conference whereof themselves are, or else to some greater church assembly; and if such shall be found fit by them, then let them be commended by their letters unto the bishop that they may be ordained ministers by him."

The Service-book is next brought under review, and here it is said, "Those ceremonies in the book of Common Prayer, which being taken from popery are in controversy, do seem that they ought to be omitted and given over, if it may be done without danger of being put from the ministry. But if there be any imminent danger to be deprived, then this matter must be communicated with the *classis* in which that church is;

* The movement began at Cambridge, and was headed by the celebrated Cartwright, formerly of St. John's, but at that time a fellow of Trinity, and Lady Margaret's professor of divinity. Whitgift was then master of the former college, and exerted himself with characteristic vigour to stem the torrent of disaffection.—Strype's Annals, vol. i., part ii., p. 374.

that by the judgment thereof it may be determined what ought to be done. If subscription to the articles of religion, and to the book of Common Prayer, shall be again urged, it is thought that the book of articles may be subscribed unto, according to the statute, 13th of Elizabeth, that is, unto such of them only as contain the sum of Christian faith, and doctrine of the sacraments. But for many weighty causes, neither the rest of the articles in that book, nor the book of Common Prayer, may be allowed: no! though a man should be deprived of his ministry for it."

By the next clause it appears that every part of the arrangements of the Church was to be brought under the supervision of the authors of these decrees. "It seemeth that churchwardens and collectors for the poor might thus be turned into elders and into deacons. When they are to be chosen, let the Church have warning fifteen days before of the time of election, and of the ordinance of the realm, but especially of Christ's ordinance, touching appointing of watchmen and overseers in his Church, who are to foresee that none offence or scandal do arise in the Church; and if any shall happen, that by them it may be duly abolished. And touching deacons of both sorts (*videlicet*, men and women), the Church shall be monished what is required by the Apostle, and that they are not to choose men of custom and of course, or for their riches, but for their faith, zeal and integrity; and that the Church is to pray, in the meantime, to be so directed, that they may make choice of them that be meet. Let the names of such as are so chosen be published the next Lord's day; and after that, their duties to the Church, and the Church's towards them, shall be declared. Then let them be received into the ministry to which they are chosen, with the general prayers of the whole Church. The brethren are to be requested to ordain a distribution of all churches, according to these rules, in that behalf, that are set down in the synodical discipline, touching classical, provincial, comital, or of commencements, and of assemblies for the whole kingdom."

Of the classes it is stated that they are "required to keep acts of memorable matters which they shall see delivered to the comitial assembly, that from thence they may be brought by the provincial assembly: also they are to deal earnestly with patrons, to present fit men whensoever any church is fallen void in that *classis*." Of the comitial assemblies and others, that they "are to be monished to make collections for relief of the poor and of scholars, but especially for relief of such ministers here as are put out for not subscribing to the articles tendered by the bishops; also for relief of Scottish ministers and others, and for other profitable and necessary uses. All the provincial synods must continually aforehand foresee in due time to appoint the keeping of their next provincial synods; and for the sending of chosen persons, with certain instructions, unto the national synod, to be holden whensoever the parliament for the kingdom shall be called at some certain set time every year." *

The state of affairs indicated by this document may serve in some degree to account for the severity shown towards archbishop Grindal. Fears were entertained that the views which he favoured were too similar to those of the puritans to be tolerated with safety. Having, therefore, in vain employed what arguments he could to conciliate the queen, and refusing to take any steps towards repressing the exercises objected to, he was deprived of his jurisdiction for six months, by a sentence of the star-chamber, and confined to his palace. At the end of the six months an intimation was sent him that it was only by his submitting to the wishes of the queen that the proceedings in the star-chamber were likely to be suspended. To this intimation he returned the following answer:—

"Right honourable and my singular good lords, I cannot deny but that I have been commanded, both by the queen's majesty herself, and also by divers of your honourable lordships, in her name, to suppress all those exercises within my province which are commonly called prophecies. But I do protest before God the Judge of

* Fuller, cent. xvi., b. ix., p. 140. Strype's Annals, vol. i., part ii., p. 380.

all hearts, that I did not, of any stubbornness or wilfulness refuse to accomplish the same, but only upon conscience; for that I found such kind of exercise set down in the Holy Scriptures, and the use of the same to have continued in the primitive Church; and was persuaded that (the abuses being reformed, which I always offered myself ready to labour in,) the said exercises might yet serve to the great profit of the Church, and feared that the utter suppressing of them would breed offence; and, therefore, was a most humble suitor unto her majesty, that I might not be made the chief instrument in suppressing the same; yet, not prejudicing or condemning any, that, in respect of policy or otherwise, should be of contrary judgment, or being of authority, should suppress them. For I know right well, that there be some things of that nature wherein divers men may be of divers opinions, and abound in their own sense (being not repugnant to the analogy of faith), without any prejudice of their salvation, or any prejudice of either to other. Notwithstanding, howsoever, others, being otherwise persuaded, might safely do it, yet I thought it not safe for me (being so persuaded in mind) to be the doer of that whereof mine own heart and conscience would condemn me. And whereas I have sustained a restraint of my liberty, and sequestration of my jurisdiction, now by the space of six months, I am so far from repining thereat, or thinking myself injuriously or hardly dealt withal therein, at her majesty's hands, that I do thankfully embrace, and frankly, with all humility, acknowledge her princely, gracious and rare clemency towards me; who, having authority and power to have used greater and sharper severity against me, and for good policy and example, thinking it so expedient, hath, notwithstanding, dealt so mercifully, mildly and gently with me.

“ But the greatest grief that ever I had or have, is the loss of her majesty's favour and the sustaining of the displeasure of so gracious a sovereign, by whom the Church and realm of England hath been so long and so happily governed; and by whom myself, privately and specially above other subjects, have received so many

and so great benefits above all my deserving. For the recovery of whose gracious favour, I most humbly beseech your lordships to be a means to her majesty for me; the which obtained, I shall esteem far above all worldly benefits whatsoever. And I protest here, before God and your honours, that not only my dutiful and humble obedience to her majesty shall be such as she shall have no cause to repent of her gracious goodness and clemency shown unto me; but also, that by most fervent, hearty and daily prayer, as I have done hitherto, so I will continue, according to my bounden duty, to make most earnest suit unto Almighty God for the long preservation of her majesty's most happy reign, to the unspeakable benefit of the Church and realm of England." *

Notwithstanding the humble tone of this address, it failed to move the heart of the queen, and Grindal's sequestration was continued. We find him, however, soon after directed to convene the clergy, and to make known to them, when the nation was agitated at the prospect of her union with the Duke of Anjou, that her resolution, "never to admit of any change in religion continued fixed and unalterable." At another time, the privy council addressed him on the subject of discipline, and he was ordered to use his episcopal authority for the suppression of the abuses which had crept into the Church. These circumstances show that he continued to be looked up to as possessing the chief episcopal authority, and it appears that an offer which he had made to resign his high office was not accepted. Being a man of gentle, humble mind, he with difficulty persevered in his determination to support the practices for which personally he was ready to suffer any inconvenience or loss. We accordingly find him, before the end of his career, offering a still humbler submission to the queen, and resigning his favourite point; stating that, "since her majesty had forbidden the exercises of prophesying, he had suffered none of them, either in his diocese or peculiars." †

* Collier, vol. vi., b. vi., p. 583.

† Ibid., p. 638.

It is supposed, that in consequence of this submission, Grindal was freed from the penalties of sequestration : but his health had been gradually declining, and, his sight failing, he renewed his request to be permitted to resign. His wish was attended to, and the proper instruments were prepared, but he died before they were executed, and was succeeded in his high office by Whitgift, bishop of Worcester.

The new archbishop was a man of different temper to Grindal. Firmer, and more severe, he was better prepared to grapple with the difficulties of his situation and of the times. The reputation which he enjoyed for learning and ability secured him the respect of all parties ; and he at once made known the nature of the plans which it would be necessary for him to adopt, to ward off the dangers to which the Church had been exposed under the government of his predecessor.

At the outset of his proceedings,* Whitgift insisted on the subscription of the clergy to the three articles which respected, first, the queen's supremacy ; secondly, the book of Common Prayer ; and thirdly, the consistency of the thirty-nine articles with the Word of God. This occasioned no slight agitation in many parts of the country, and petitions were sent to the privy council from some of the clergy of Kent against the archbishop himself, another arriving about the same time from Suffolk against the bishop of Norwich.

Whitgift had been desired to attend the council to answer the charges brought against him ; but probably considering that to comply in this particular would be to compromise his dignity, he made his defence in a letter, and in terms plainly indicative of the course which he intended to pursue. Some of the clergy having, in

* Not a week passed after Whitgift's accession before he issued orders, addressed to the bishops of his province, "that all preaching, catechising and praying in any private family where any are present beside the family, be utterly extinguished. That none do preach or catechise, except also he will read the whole service, and administer the sacraments four times a year. That all preachers and others in ecclesiastical orders do at all times wear the habits prescribed : that none be admitted to preach unless he be ordained according to the manner of the Church of England : that none be admitted to preach or execute any part of the ecclesiastical function, unless he subscribe the three following articles, &c., &c."—*Strype's Life and Acts of Whitgift*, vol. i., p. 229 ; *Neal*, vol. i., p. 319.

their complaint of harsh usage, said that they were no jesuits, the archbishop remarks, "True it is, neither are they charged to be so; but notwithstanding, they are contentious in the Church of England, and by their contentions minister occasion of offence to those which are seduced by jesuits, and give the arguments against the form of public prayer used in this Church and by law established, and thereby increase the number of them, and confirm them in their wilfulness. They also make a schism in the Church, and draw many others of her majesty's subjects to a misliking of her laws and government in causes ecclesiastical; so far are they from persuading them to obedience, or at least, if they persuade them to it in the one part of her authority in civil causes, they dissuade them from it in as much in the other, that is, in causes ecclesiastical; so that, indeed, they pluck down with the one hand that which they seem to build with the other. They say, that they have faithfully travelled in persuading to obedience, &c., and have therein prevailed. It is but their own testimony, and I think it were hard for them to shew whom they converted from papistry to the gospel. But what stirs and dissensions they have made amongst those who professed the gospel before they were taught by them, I think it to be apparent. It is notorious that in King Edward's time, and in the beginning of her majesty's reign, for the space of divers years, when this self-same book of public prayers was uniformly used, by all learned preachers maintained, and impugned by none, the gospel mightily prevailed, took great increase, and very few were known to refuse to communicate with us in prayer and participation of the sacraments. But since this, schism and division, the contrary effect, hath fallen out; and how can it otherwise be, seeing we ourselves condemn that public form and order of prayer and administration of the sacraments, as in divers points contrary to the Word of God, from which (as in like manner condemning the same) the papists do absent themselves."

Allowing the sternness of his style to increase, he says, "In the letter part of their bill, containing the

reasons why they cannot submit themselves to observe the form prescribed by the book in all points, I wonder, either at their ignorance or audacity. They say, that the learned writers of our time have shewed their mislikings of some of our ceremonies. The most learned writers in our times have not so done, but rather reprov'd the mislikers. Those few that have given contrary judgment therein, have done more rashly than learnedly, presuming to give their censures of such a church as this is, not understanding the points of the cause, nor alleging any reason worth the hearing."

Referring then to the address which more immediately concerned himself, he says, "The complaint which those of Kent, being of my own diocese, and by oath bound to me in canonical obedience, have exhibited unto your lordships, doth make me more to wonder, that they, most of them being unlearned and young, such as I would be loath to admit into the ministry, if they were not already admitted thereunto, much less to allow as preachers, dare presume to bring my doings against them into question before your lordships, seeing I have done nothing but that which God, the law, her majesty, and my duty forceth me unto; dealing with them not as an archbishop with the inferior sort of the clergy, nor as a master of a college with his fellows, nor as a magistrate with his inferiors; but as a friend and a brother, which, as I think, hath so puffed them up, and caused them to be so presumptuous."

His account of the conduct of the complainants affords a good illustration of the violence of the feelings which prevailed. "They came to me," says he, "unsent for, in a multitude, which I reprov'd, because it imported a conspiracy, and had the shew of a tumult or unlawful assembly. Notwithstanding, I was content to hear their complaint: I spent with them the whole afternoon, from two of the clock till seven, and heard their reasons, whereof some were frivolous and childish, some irreligious, and all of them such as gave me occasion to think that they rather sought quarrel against the Book than to be satisfied; which, indeed, is true, as appeareth by some of their own confessions, which I am able to

shew when I shall be thereunto urged. The two whole days following I spent likewise, for the most part, in dealing severally with them, requiring them to give unto me the chief and principal of their reasons which moved them not to subscribe, meaning to hear them in the rest, if I could have satisfied them in it, or else not to spend any further time; which reasons, if I may so term them, they gave unto me, and I have, and intend to make known when occasion shall serve. Whereas, they say in their bill, that the public administration of the sacraments in this land is, as touching the substance of it, lawful; they say no more than the papists themselves do confess, and in truth, they say nothing in effect to that wherewith they are charged. And yet therein they are contrary to themselves, for they have pretended matter of substance against the Book. But of what spirit cometh it, that they, being no otherwise than they are, dare to the greatest authority in this land next to her majesty, so boldly offer themselves, thus to reason and dispute, as in their bill they vaunt against the state established in matters of religion, and against the Book so learnedly and painfully penned, and by so great authority from time to time confirmed. It is not for me to sit in this place, if every curate within my diocese or province may be permitted so to use me; neither is it possible for me to perform the duty which her majesty looketh for at my hands, if I may not, without interruption, proceed in execution of that which her highness hath especially committed unto me. The gospel can take no success, neither the number of papists be diminished, if unity be not procured, which I am not in doubt, in short time, to bring to pass, without any great ado or inconvenience at all, if it be not hindered."

The hope expressed in the last sentence is justified as follows: "The number of those who refuse to subscribe is not great; in most parts of my province, not one; in some very few, and in some none; whereof many also, and the greater part, are unlearned and unworthy the ministry. In mine own little diocese, in Canterbury, three-score preachers and above have subscribed; whereas there are not ten worthy the name of

preachers which have as yet refused ; and most of them also not allowed preachers by lawful authority : and so I know it to be in all other dioceses within my province, the diocese of Norwich only excepted, wherein, nevertheless, the number of the disordered is far less than the number of such as are obedient and quietly disposed. Now, if these few disordered, which the Church may well spare, having meeter men to place in their rooms, shall be countenanced against the best, the wisest in all respects, the worthiest, and in effect the whole state of the clergy, it will not only discourage the dutiful and obedient persons, but so increase the schism, that there will never hereafter be hope of appeasing the same. This disordered flocking together of them at this time from divers places, and gadding from one to another, argueth a conspiracy amongst them, and some hope of encouragement and of prevailing, which I am persuaded is not meant, nor shall ever be by me willingly consented unto. Some of them have already, as I am informed, bruited abroad, that your lordships have sent for me to answer their complaints, and that they hope to be delivered ; wherein I know they report untruly, as the manner is, for I cannot be persuaded that your lordships have any such intent as to make me a party, or to call my doings into question, which from her majesty are immediately committed unto me, and wherein, as I suppose, I have no other judge but herself. And forasmuch as I am by God and her majesty lawfully, without any ordinary or extraordinary or unlawful means, called to this place and function, and appointed to be your pastor, and to have the greatest charge over you in matters pertaining to the soul, I am the more bold to move and desire you to aid and assist me in matters belonging to my office, namely, such as appertain to the quietness of the Church, the credit of religion established, and the maintenance of the laws made for the same. And here I do protest, and testify unto your lordships, that the three articles whereunto they are moved to subscribe, are such as I am ready, by learning, to defend, in manner and form as they are set down, against all mislikers thereof in England or else-

where. And thus desiring your lordships to take this my answer in good part, and to forbear my coming thither in respect of this advantage that may be taken thereof by these wayward persons, I beseech Almighty God long to prosper you.”*

The archbishop had undertaken a difficult task, and there were many who doubted not only the prudence of his proceedings but their legality. It was argued that the statute, passed in the twenty-fifth year of Henry VIII., expressly prohibited “the whole body of the clergy, or any one of them, to put in use any constitutions or canons already made or hereafter to be made, except they be made in convocation assembled by the king’s writ, his royal assent being also had thereunto, on pain of fine and imprisonment:” and in the next place, that by the statute of the first of Elizabeth, “All such jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities, pre-eminences, spiritual or ecclesiastical power and authority, which hath heretofore been, or may lawfully be, executed or used for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state and persons, and for the reformation of the same, and of all manner of errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, contempts and enormities, are for ever united to the imperial crown of these realms.” Again, it was contended that the proceedings of the archbishop violated laws which the queen herself had not power to set aside, for that by the statute of the thirteenth of her reign, the subscription of the clergy was to be demanded in nothing but articles of the Church relating to doctrine, and the administration of the sacraments; while the archbishop insisted on subscription to the whole body of the articles. In the same manner it was contended, that while he declared, that none should be admitted to preach unless ordained according to the manner of the Church of England, the statute above referred to admitted as valid “all ordinations in the time of popery, or after the manner of foreign reformed churches;” so that persons so ordained might be allowed to possess any ecclesiastical preferment.

No little ingenuity was employed in the examination

* *Life and Acts*, vol. i., p. 250. Fuller, cent. xvi., b. ix., p. 145.

of the arguments thus set forth. To the reasoning of the puritans it was answered that the canon law gave full authority to the archbishop to make such provision as he chose for the well government of the Church; but to this again it was said, that though it might be so in former times, it was no longer so, now that, according to laws passed at the Reformation, the authority of the bishops was derived from the queen alone. "Queen Mary," it was argued, "had surrendered the whole of her rights in respect to the Church into the hands of the pope; and it might, therefore, be admitted, that her present majesty, on succeeding to the throne, had no authority in ecclesiastical matters. But the statute of recognition, passed in the first year of her reign, had restored to her that authority; and the archbishops and bishops being thereby made subject to her rule, the clergy were thenceforth to be governed according to the laws, that is, such canons, constitutions and synodals provincial as were in force before the twenty-fifth of Henry VIII., and are not contrary or repugnant to the laws and customs of the realm, nor derogatory to her majesty's prerogative royal; and therefore all canons made before the twenty-fifth of Henry VIII., giving to the archbishops or bishops an unlimited power over the clergy as derived from the see of Rome, are utterly void, such canons being directly against the laws and customs of the realm, which do not admit of any subject executing a law but by authority from the prince; and they are derogatory to her majesty's prerogative royal, because hereby some of her subjects might claim an unlimited power over her other subjects, independent of the crown, and by their private authority command or forbid what they please." Hence, it was concluded, the archbishop's articles were forced upon the clergy contrary to the canons, and were calculated to involve the nation in perpetual strife.

To the argument, that the queen, as head of the Church, might procure the uniformity of the clergy by the publication of articles and injunctions, and that the archbishop acted but in accordance with her wishes, the answer was, that the queen herself could, rightly, do

nothing against the laws, and that, consequently, her consent, except given under the great seal, was no justification of the archbishop's proceeding. Taking this for granted, it was insisted that the clergy were, therefore, not obliged, by their oath of canonical obedience, to subject themselves, in the present instance, to the dictation of the archbishop.

Whitgift was not to be moved by such arguments. He could plead that the queen had directed him to act with resolution, and that he was placed in the high station which he occupied, in the full expectation that he would carry out the views which seemed most consonant with the good estate of the Church. They who disputed the queen's authority might answer it to herself. With regard to the right of the bishops to insist on subscription and uniformity, the denial of that right, as attempted on the part of the puritans, seemed to set aside their authority, not merely as derived from the state, but as bestowed on them by the Church at large, the Church universal, and as given them in virtue of principles, regarded from the earliest times as essential to the peace and consistency of the Christian community. It cannot be doubted that there were many holy and learned men who felt grieved and oppressed by the inflexible spirit of the archbishop; but there is as little reason to doubt, that the loudest and most troublesome part of the agitation proceeded from weak and unsettled men, who were as unable as they were unwilling, wanting both learning and patience, to enter upon a sufficient investigation of the questions involved in the subjects upon which they were disputing.

The first visitation of the archbishop was attended with the consequences which it was natural to expect. In six counties, two hundred and thirty-three ministers were found who refused to subscribe, and were accordingly suspended. The other counties furnished proportionable numbers, but out of the whole, forty-nine only are named as absolutely deprived of their benefices. It also appears that, notwithstanding the resolution of the archbishop to give up nothing which he deemed essen-

tial to consistency, there were particular cases which obtained his indulgence, and a milder treatment. Thus six or seven of the suspended ministers were allowed to appear before him at Lambeth, and having stated their opinions, were suffered to subscribe with the express declaration that they did so according to their own view of the rubrics and articles, and in so far as they were accordant to scripture, and the analogy of faith.

That Whitgift sacrificed nothing of importance by this indulgence is sufficiently clear from what followed. "Many good and pious men," it is said, "strained their consciences on this occasion;" but it is added, "Many upon better consideration repented their subscribing in this manner, and would have rased out their names, but it was not permitted." So also, "Some who were allured to subscribe with the promises of favour and better preferment, were neglected and forgotten, and troubled in the commissaries' court as much as before. The court took no notice of their protestations or reserves; they wanted nothing but their hands, and when they had got them they were all listed under the same colours, and published to the world as absolute subscribers."*

This is the statement of a violent opponent, and he seems to have forgotten, that whatever it may prove against the archbishop, it tends in nowise to exalt the credit of the clergy who favoured the views of the puritans. The complaint is not that, being hearty in the defence of their principles, they were subject to a cruel persecution, but that having yielded out of weakness, or an expectation of preferment, they did not meet with success proportionable to their hopes. Whitgift had declared that it would be far better for the Church to be without the turbulent and unsettled spirits that undervalued and despised its discipline, than to retain them nominally as its members: it is not at all likely, therefore, that he would be forward in bribing such men to a pretended conformity. The more probable supposition is, that those who had not acted from any very corrupt motive, having sought and obtained tranquillity, by

* Neal, *Hist. of Puritans*, vol. 1., p. 322.

sacrificing their doubts to their fears, found, after a short time, their doubts returning, and then began to question the terms on which they had subscribed the articles, flattering themselves that the whole had been done in the way of compromise, whereas the idea of a compromise was as far as ever from the mind of the rulers of the Church.

Unhappily in most conflicts of this nature, there is, in the language and manner of those who contend on the side of authority, an appearance of coldness in respect to many subjects which deservedly engage the affections of the rest of mankind. This is peculiarly a misfortune when the leaders of the controversy are ecclesiastical dignitaries. The necessity for vigour, and some degree of severity, though it may not in reality, yet will commonly in the opinion of the world, lessen the force of those graces of charity, mildness and fatherly benignity, which are universally regarded as the chief virtues of the ecclesiastical character. Nor is this all. While the clergy themselves, if high in authority, and exercising that authority to support their rule, stand exposed to no slight degree of suspicion, there is not unfrequently cause to fear that discipline, asserted and supported in respect to points debated, may be allowed imperceptibly to decline with regard to others of no less importance, but depending entirely on the will and temper, the feelings and tastes, of those in power.

Whitgift himself was not insensible to the necessity of providing for the better instruction of the clergy. Though avoiding the dangers which seemed to attend the exercises viewed so favourably by his predecessor, he adopted a plan which seemed well suited to the circumstances of the times. Thus it was ordered, that every minister having cure, and being under the degrees of master of arts and barrister of law, and not licensed to be a public preacher, should, before a certain day, "provide a Bible and Bullinger's 'Decads,' in Latin or English, and a paper book, and every day read over one chapter of the Holy Scriptures, and note the principal contents thereof briefly in his paper book; and should every week read over one sermon

in the said 'Decads,'* and note likewise the chief matters therein contained in the said paper; and should once in every quarter shew his said note to some preacher near adjoining, to be assigned for that purpose."

Under the next head it is ordered, "That the bishop, archdeacon, or other ordinary, being a public preacher, shall appoint certain grave and learned preachers, who shall privately examine the diligence, and view the notes of the said ministers, assigning six or seven ministers, as occasion shall require, to every such preacher that shall be next adjoining to him, so as the ministers be not driven to travel for the exhibiting their notes above six or seven miles, if it may be. And the said preachers shall, by letters or otherwise, truly certify to the archdeacons or other ordinary of the place, themselves being public preachers, and resident within or next to their jurisdictions, and for want thereof to the bishop himself, who do perform the said exercises, and how they have profited therein, and who do refuse or neglect to perform the same. The archdeacons and others receiving the said certificates, shall certify the same once a year to the bishop, and that about Michaelmas."

Lastly, it is stated, "That such as shall refuse to perform the exercises, or shall be negligent therein, and shall not, after admonition by the bishop, archdeacon, or other ordinary aforesaid, reform himself, if he be beneficed, shall be compelled thereunto by ecclesiastical censure: if he be a curate, shall be inhibited to officiate within the jurisdiction." And moreover, "it is concluded, that the exercise above written, and no other, shall be henceforth publicly or privately used within any part of this province."†

The efforts which some members of government deemed it expedient to make to soften the archbishop proved of little avail. He had consented not to press subscription upon those who were already beneficed; but he would show no favour to such as presented them-

* The celebrated work of Bullinger consisted of several short discourses, drawn up for the use of the churches in Switzerland, and obtained there the species of authority now assigned them by the archbishop.—Strype's Annals, vol. II., part II., p. 144; Life of Whitgift.

† Collier, vol. VII., part II., p. 14.

selves to him for orders, or institution, and desired to escape the test. The time is long since passed when the ministers of an established Church regarded it as a grievance to be called upon to declare their assent to the principles on which their Church is founded, and on the preservation of which it depends for consistency of teaching among the clergy, and for any degree of safety when assailed by error or faction. But at the period of which we are speaking, many excellent men seem to have considered that the door was still open to change or reformation; and that they had a right, therefore, either to propose their own notions of discipline, or resist the orders of those of the legitimacy of whose authority they had serious and conscientious doubts. Men of this kind threw a veil over the factious character of the party, to which they had joined themselves. For their sake alone, questions were debated which the general feeling would easily have allowed to sink to rest; and it was not till the violence and intemperate heat of the body at large showed itself to be incurable, that such men as Walsingham gave up the hope of satisfying the demands made upon the Church's moderation and charity. From this time the contest was attended by none of the mitigating circumstances which the prospect or possibility of reconciliation may give to temporary strife. The Church saw, every day, an increasing obligation to multiply or increase its defences; and the puritans settled down into that stern, dark temper which prepared them for days of wrath and revolution.

It ought not to be forgotten, in statements of this kind, that religion was not left free, at the period spoken of, from political influences. The House of Commons had for some time past taken a conspicuous part in the theological discussions. Its votes might be traced like threads, distinct in colour and fibre, through the whole texture of the Reformation. As every year, spite of the arbitrary dispositions of Elizabeth, gave to the popular branch of the legislature greater consistency and force, its predominant sentiments on ecclesiastical affairs assumed a greater importance. But by its very constitution, the party in opposition to the Church was sure

to possess the favour of a considerable portion of its members. Its strength and dignity were only to be seen or felt in opposition. Many a man of healthy, active mind, who would have been free enough from the contagion of fanaticism, was tempted to become a puritan; because as such he could more openly and decidedly plead the cause of liberty.

The power, therefore, which the opponents of the Church were gradually acquiring, ought not to be ascribed, except in a very modified sense, to religious convictions that the Church was in the wrong; but to the combination of two elements, very rarely in other countries found working together, namely, a simple, unmixed, passionate devotion to the interests of religion, and the keen apprehension, attended by practical experience, of the connexion of political freedom with liberty of thought, and integrity of purpose.

Nothing was attempted on the part of the puritans, but it obtained countenance in the House of Commons. Formal motions were made for the purpose of setting aside the rules adopted by the archbishop; and even petitions were presented by the house "to the lords spiritual and temporal of the higher house," in support of the claims urged by the dissenters. Of the points insisted upon on such occasions, many were such as had an undoubted right to the serious attention of every friend of religion and the Church. Thus it was stated that as "the form of ordination of priests, confirmed by act of parliament, directs that those who are taken into the ministry should be put in mind that they are pastors and watchmen, God's stewards and messengers," it behoved their lordships to consider, "for some good expedient, that none may be admitted to the ministry but such as are sufficiently furnished for so high and solemn a function." Close, however, upon this pious request is the demand, "that no minister may be prosecuted, either in the ecclesiastical or temporal courts, for any small omissions either in ceremonies, or reading the Common Prayer," and "that the bishops would restore such godly and learned preachers as have been suspended or deprived for no other crime but their refusal to sub-

scribe such articles as have been lately put to them ; or if this favour may not be allowed, they may have the liberty at least of preaching in other places to which they are invited." *

Requests like these were calculated to throw suspicion upon all the rest ; but a happy thing would it have been for the Church had some of the lessons, now taught in a spirit unfriendly to its interests because opposed to conformity, received greater attention. The weak places which afterwards exposed it to so many perils would then have been closed up, and arguments urged against abuses would not have been so familiar to the popular mind when not correction, but overthrow and ruin, was the object.

At one period, there seemed reason to hope that the calm and dignified explanations which Whitgift rendered of his principles and policy, had softened some of the most powerful of his adversaries. One of the conferences which he allowed to take place in his palace, ended in the acknowledged defeat of the dissenters ; and Leicester is reported to have confessed, " that they did not expect such clear principles, and such force of persuasion, on the archbishop's side, nor such trifling exceptions, and so weak an opposition, from the other party."

But it is not on the strength of arguments that party depends. Let those, therefore, of which it forms its visible defences be a thousand times overthrown, its force will in no essential respect be less than it was before. The feelings and passions of its members, and the circumstances of the society by which it is surrounded, are the real elements of its power. To attempt, therefore, the overthrow of a popular party by direct argument, or appeals to truth and reason, may be compared to the proceeding of a general who calculates that, because he has taken a fortress that was deserted, he may make himself master of that which is still full of bold and active troops. Disputes were perpetual at the period of which we are speaking ; but the parties engaged kept, as parties, the same position. Individuals

* Neal : Fuller.

changed sides, or were happily taught to inquire more earnestly into important truths, or were excited to melancholy and capricious wanderings, according to the natural quality of their minds. But the two large masses were rolled heavily forward, each with its own instincts, and threatening mutual destruction should they ever come into actual collision.

CHAP. IV.

ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT AND THE PURITANS.—SABBATH OBSERVANCES.—DISPUTES ON THE DOCTRINE OF ELECTION.—ACCESSION AND PROCEEDINGS OF JAMES I.—CONFERENCE.—BANCROFT.—ABBOT.—INCREASE OF PURITANISM.

It is not easy to point out all the circumstances which contributed to the agitation of this period: it must not, however, be forgotten that during the whole of the time the queen lost no opportunity of asserting her entire right to control or correct the movements of the clergy. Representations having been made that schism or heresy had been connived at, she did not speak of it simply as a cause of grief, or as filling her with earnest desires to see the mischief corrected by such methods as the Church saw fitting, but, alluding to the supposed abuses, exclaims, "All which, if you, my lords of the clergy, do not amend, I mean to depose you; look you, therefore, well to your charges!"

The pain which Whitgift suffered in the midst of so many conflicting interests, is feelingly expressed in his letters to Lord Burleigh. Two Cambridgeshire clergymen, who had been sent for examination to the register, retired from the ordeal in disgust, and made their complaints to the lord treasurer. On this, the latter wrote to the archbishop, evidently taking up and espousing their cause. "They say they are commanded to be examined by the register at London, and I asked them whereof? They said of a great number of articles; but they could

have no copies of them. I answered, that they might answer to the truth. They said, that they were so many in number, and so divers, that they were afraid to answer them, for fear of captious interpretation. Upon this, I sent for the register, who brought me the articles, which I have read, and find so curiously penned, so full of branches and circumstances, that I think the inquisitions of Spain use not so many questions to comprehend and entrap their prey. I know your canonists can defend these with all their particles; but surely, under your grace's correction, this juridical and canonical siftner of poor ministers is not to edify and reform; and, in charity, I think they ought not to answer to all these nice points, except they were very notorious offenders in papistry or heresy. Now, good my lord, bear with my scribbling; I write with testimony of a good conscience. I desire the peace of the Church; I desire concord and unity in the exercise of our religion; I fear no sensual and wilful recusant; but I conclude that, according to my simple judgment, this kind of proceeding is too much savouring the Romish inquisition, and is rather a device to seek for offenders than to reform any. This was not that charitable instruction that I thought was intended, if these poor ministers should in some few points have any scrupulous conceptions to be removed; this is not a charitable way to send them to answer to your common register, upon so many articles at an instant, without commodity of instruction by your register, whose office is only to receive their answers, by which the parties are first subject to condemnation before they be taught their errors. It may be, I say, that canonists may maintain this proceeding by rules of their laws; but though *omnia licent, omnia non expediunt*. I pray your grace hear this (and perchance a fault), that I have willed them not to answer these articles, except their consciences may suffer them; and yet I have sharply admonished them, that if they be disturbers in their churches, they must be corrected.”*

To this complaint Whitgift replies, that he had proceeded as he had done, “because he would not touch

* Fuller, b. ix. p. 153.

any for not subscribing only, but for breach of order in celebrating of divine service, administering of the sacraments, and executing other ecclesiastical functions, according to their fancies, and not according to the form of law prescribed." Again: "The complaints which your lordship saith are made of me and other my colleagues have hitherto been general, and therefore cannot otherwise be answered but by a fair denial; but if any man shall charge me or them with particularities, I doubt not but we are and shall be ready to answer them, and to justify our doings. My proceedings are neither so vehement nor so general against ministers and preachers as some pretend, doing me therein great injury; I have divers times satisfied your lordship therein: if any offence be, it is in bearing too much with them, and using them so friendly, which causeth them thus, contrary to their duties, to trouble the Church, and to withstand me their ordinary and lawful judge."

It having been said that his measures were calculated to encourage the Romanists, he answers, that it was the strife fomented by the puritans which really favoured that party. "Oh, my lord, I would to God some of those who use this argument had no papists in their families, and did not otherwise also countenance them, whereby, indeed, they receive encouragement, and do become too malapert. Assure yourself the papists are rather grieved at my proceedings, because they tend to the taking away of their chief argument; that is, that we cannot agree among ourselves, and that we are not of the Church because we lack unity. And I am credibly informed, that the papists give encouragement to these men, and commend them in their doings; whereof I have also some experience."

In conclusion: "I know your lordship desireth the peace of the Church and unity in religion; but how is it possible to be procured (after so long liberty and lack of discipline) if a few persons so meanly qualified, as most of them are, shall be countenanced against the whole estate of the clergy, of greatest account both for learning, years, staidness, wisdom, religion and honesty? and open breakers and impugners of the laws, young in

years, proud in conceit, contentious in disposition, maintained against their superiors and governors, seeking to reduce them to order and obedience? . . . For my own part, I neither have done, nor do any thing in this matter which I do not think in my conscience and duty I am bound to do; which her majesty hath not with earnest charge committed unto me, and which I am not well able to justify to be most requisite for this State and Church, whereof, next to her majesty, though most unworthy, or at least most unhappy, the chief care is committed unto me, which I will not, by the grace of God, neglect, whatsoever come upon me. Therefore I neither care for the honour of the place, which is *onus* to me, nor the largeness of the revenues, nor any other worldly thing. I thank God in respect of doing my duty; neither do I fear the displeasure of man, nor the evil tongues of the uncharitable, who call me tyrant, pope, papist, knave, and lay to my charge things which I never did nor thought upon. . . . So was Cyprian himself used, and other antient and godly bishops to whom I am not comparable. The day will come when all men's hearts shall be opened. In the meantime, I will depend on him, who hath called me to this place; and will not forsake those that trust in him."

To this he adds an earnest entreaty, that his lordship would leave the persons of whom he had spoken to be dealt with according to the order set down, and that he would not change his dispositions towards him, saying, "Assuredly if you forsake me, which I know you will not, after so long trial and experience, with continuance of so great friendship, especially in so good a cause, I shall think my coming to this place to have been for my punishment, and my hap very hard, that when I think to deserve best, and in a manner to consume myself to satisfy that which God, her majesty, the Church, requireth of me, I should be so evil rewarded. *Sed meliora spero.*" *

That Lord Burleigh was not much affected by the archbishop's appeal is clear, from the conclusion of the brief answer to what he termed "his grace's long letter."

* Strype: Records and Originals, n. x.; Fuller, b. ix., p. 156.

“ I think your grace’s proceeding is, I will not say rigorous or captious, but I think it is scant charitable. I have no leisure to write more, and therefore I will end, for writing will but increase offence, and I mean not to offend your grace. I am content that your grace, and my lord of London, where I hear Brown is, use him as your wisdom shall think meet. If I had known his fault, I might be blamed for writing for him; but when by examination only it is meant to sift him, with twenty-four articles, I have cause to pity the poor man.”

The controversy was not to stop here. Whitgift was evidently distressed at the view taken of his measures, and of the present state of religious affairs, by the lord treasurer. “ God knoweth,” he says, in an answer to the last letter, “ how desirous I have been, from time to time, to satisfy your lordship in all things, and to have my doings approved to you. For which cause, since my coming to this place, I have done nothing of importance without your advice. I have risen early and sat up late, to write unto such objections and answers as on either side were used. I have not done the like to any man, and shall I now say that I have lost my labour, or shall my just dealing with two of the most disordered ministers in a whole diocese (the obstinacy and contempt of whom, especially of one of them, you yourself would not bear in any subjected to your authority) cause you so to think and speak of my doings, and of myself! No man living should have made me believe it. Solomon saith, An old friend is better than a new; and I trust your lordship will not so lightly cast off your old friends for any of these new-fangled and factious sectaries, whose endeavour is to make division wheresoever they come, and to separate old and assured friends. Your lordship seemeth to charge me with breach of promise, touching my manner of proceeding, whereof I am no way guilty; but I have altered my first course of dealing with them for not subscribing only, justifiable by the law and common practice in the time of King Edward, and from the beginning of her majesty’s reign, and chosen this, only to satisfy your lordship.”

Again complaining of the reports respecting him, he

says, " Mine enemies and the evil tongues of this uncharitable sect report also, that I am revolted and become a papist, and I know not what; but it proceedeth from their lewdness, not from any desert of mine, and I disdain to answer to any such notorious untruths, which the best of them dare not avouch to my face. Your lordship seemeth further to burden me with wilfulness. I am sure that you are not so persuaded of me. I will appeal to your own conscience. There is difference betwixt wilfulness and constancy. I have taken upon me the defence of the religion and rights of the Church of England; to appease the sects of schisms therein, and to reduce all the ministers thereto to uniformity, and due obedience therein. I intend to be constant, and not to waver with every wind. The which also my place, my person, my duty, the laws, her majesty, and the goodness of the cause doth require of me, and wherein your lordship and others, all things considered, ought in duty to assist and countenance me. It is strange that a man in my place, dealing by so good warranties as I do, should be so encountered, and for not yielding to be counted wilful: but I must be contented. *Vincit qui patitur*; and if my friends forsake me herein, I trust God will not; neither the law, nor her majesty, who have laid the charge on me, and are able to protect me. But of all other things, it most grieveth me, that your lordship should say, that the two ministers fare the worse, because your lordship hath sent them. Hath your lordship ever had any cause so to think of me? It is needless for me to protest my good heart and affection towards you above all other men; the world knoweth it, and I am assured that your lordship nothing doubteth thereof. I have rather cause to complain to your lordship of yourself, that upon so small an occasion, and in the behalf of two such, you will so hardly conceive of me, yea, and as it were, countenance persons so meanly qualified in so evil a cause against me, your lordship's so long tried friend, and their ordinary. That hath not so been in times past: now it should least of all be. I may not suffer the notorious contempt of one of them especially, unless I will become Æsop's block, and undo all that which hitherto hath been done. Well; because

I would loathe to omit any thing whereby your lordship might be satisfied, I have sent unto you, herein inclosed, certain reasons to justify the manner of my proceedings, which I marvel should be so misliked in this cause, having been so long practised in the same, and never before this time found fault with. Truly, my lord, I must proceed this way, or not at all. The reasons I have set down in this paper, and heartily I pray your lordship not to be carried away, either from the cause, or from myself, upon unjust surmises and clamours, lest you be the occasion of that confusion which hereafter you would be sorry for. For mine own part, I desire no further defence in these occasions, neither of your lordship, nor any other, than justice and law will yield unto me. In my own private affairs, I know I shall stand in need of friends, especially of your lordship, of whom I have made always an assured account; but in these public actions, I see no cause why I should seek for friends, seeing they to whom the care of the commonwealth is committed, ought of duty therein to join with me.”*

Much may be learnt of the state of affairs from these important letters. It is evident that the resolution of Whitgift was severely tried, and that, had he yielded, the interests of the Church, to whatever degree they depend upon conformity, must have greatly suffered. That many also of the charges brought against him by his enemies were unfounded, appears from the plain fact, that he did whatever was possible, without a sacrifice of principle, for the maintenance of peace. In a letter to Walsingham, he says, “I thank you heartily for your letter written unto me on behalf of Leverwood, wherein I perceive the performance of your honourable speeches to myself, in promising to join with me against such as shall be breakers of the orders of the Church established, and movers of contentions therein. Upon that, and other like speeches of yours with me at your last being at Lambeth, I have forborne to suspend or deprive any man, already placed in any cure or charge, for not subscribing only, if hereafter he would promise unto me, in writing, the observing of the Book of Common Prayer,

* Strype : Records and Originals, n. xi. ; Fuller, b. ix., p. 160.

and the orders of the Church by law set down. And I do now require subscription to the said articles of such only as are to be admitted to the ministry, and to ecclesiastical livings; wherein I find myself something eased of my former troubles; and as yet none, or very few, of the last-named persons, to refuse to subscribe to the said articles, though some of them have been accounted heretofore very precise."

Of the methods employed to escape the force of subscription, a curious hint is given in the same letter. "Touching the articles inclosed in your letter, whereunto Leverwood hath subscribed, they are of no moment, but such as may easily be eluded. For whereas he first saith, that he will willingly subscribe as far as the law requireth at his hand; his meaning is, that the law requireth no such subscription, for so I am informed, that some lawyers, therein deceived, have persuaded him and others; and in saying that he will always in the ministry use the Book of Common Prayer, and none else, his meaning is, that he will use but so much of the book as pleaseth him, and not that he will use all things in the book required of him. I have dealt with him in some particularities which he desireth to use, and therefore his subscription is to small purpose. I would, as near as I can, promise that none should hereafter come into the Church to breed new troubles: I can be better occupied otherwise; and God would bless our labours more amply, and give better success to the Word so commonly and diligently preached, if we could be at peace and quietness among ourselves, which I most heartily wish, and doubt not to bring to pass, by God's grace, the rather through your good help and assistance, whereof I assure myself."

Happily for the Church, the most active of its opponents were not sufficiently agreed among themselves to secure the objects likely materially to injure it. Burleigh, notwithstanding his occasional coolness with Whitgift, was far from wanting in affection to the establishment; but he felt and reasoned as a statesman, and was more ready to accomplish his purpose by policy than the firm, honest and uncompromising prelate. When

the dissenters pressed him to obtain a reform of the liturgy, he calmly desired them to agree among themselves, and bring him a better than the one in use, or one which would satisfy them all. Not seeing the difficulty attending such a task so clearly as the wise old statesman did, the first of the classes into which the body was divided, composed a service-book on the model of the Geneva rules; the second, taking this in hand, disfigured it by six hundred corrections; the third class disliked the alterations, and began a new form; while the fourth quarrelled with them altogether.

Deplorable injuries were inflicted on religion by these disputes. Men of high character, both for piety and learning, were perpetually set against each other, and their trials of strength made a spectacle of to those whom they would otherwise have led in happy tranquillity and steadfastness to the knowledge and love of the truth. Much was sacrificed on both sides; on both sides there were violent men, whose only reason for engaging in the strife was the gratification which it afforded to their pride or other bad passions. But this was far from being the case with all; many of the puritans were moved, not only by considerations of personal safety and fortune to desire to be reconciled to the Church, but by others inseparable from pious and enlightened minds. It was next to impossible for the most conscientious among them not to lament their state of separation, or hostility, in respect to a church reformed by the labours of so many saints, adorned with the triumphs of so many martyrs. If their consciences obliged them to refuse the test on which alone the blessings of communion could be enjoyed, they must have felt that they were making a sacrifice only inferior to that of the truth. It is an error into which we easily fall, when judging those who are opposed to us, to view their dissent as springing entirely from party motives, and therefore causing no pain; whereas truth as well as charity would often show us, that there is a very nice balancing and calculating of arguments in the minds of our opponents, and that, though overpowered by strong convictions against us, they suffer but little less than

we should ourselves in forsaking the bosom of that holy mother of whom they were born, and who cherished them lovingly till the moment of their separation.

Supposing that there were but a scanty number of nonconformists under the influence of feelings of this kind, still the duty which the heads of the Church had undertaken to perform was of the most difficult and distressing character. Men could assuredly not be inspired by the blessed Spirit of evangelical love, and without weeping find themselves constrained to expel from the ministry of the Church brethren, partakers with them of the same grace. However obvious the path of duty, it is not, therefore, free from thorns. Clearly as the bishops might discern the line which the rule of their Church obliged them to follow, they would feel no less distressed in pursuing it when the peace, the usefulness, the ministerial virtues and graces of many pastors, beloved by their flocks, were the necessary sacrifice.

The absence of sentiments of this kind, or the want of such a feeling of sorrow, would, more than almost anything else, if well proved, lead to a suspicion that the chiefs of the Church were influenced by motives not altogether pure. But to speak with confidence on either side of the question, would require more evidence than we possess. The severity of Whitgift does not prove that he was wanting in commiseration for those who, far different to agitators, fell by the force of circumstances under the same penalties. It is difficult, in our own age, to free from the charge of illiberality all the measures which he adopted, or even to apologize for them as suggested by considerations superior to personal feeling or passion. Cartwright had doubtless merited chastisement for troubling the Church; but when with learning and genius, and (there is no reason for denying it) with pious zeal, he composed a valuable treatise on the Rhemish version of the New Testament, it is hard to find arguments whereby to justify the archbishop when he peremptorily ordered the writer to desist from his work, and consigned a confessedly important, erudite and useful work to oblivion.

Nothing, however, is said of Whitgift, even on the part of his adversaries, so injurious to his character as what is recorded of his coadjutor the bishop of London. If the statements given of the proceedings of that prelate be not the mere fabrication of the enemy, and if his temper and conduct may be taken in anywise as an indication of the ruling spirit in the hierarchy of the day, certainly it may be said, that no Church was ever more indebted for its preservation to the grace of God, and less to the wisdom or virtue of its rulers, than the Church of England at the time of which we are speaking.

Among other incidents alleged as proofs of the tyrannical temper of Aylmer is the following:—A clergyman of London, named Benison, well known for his attainments as a scholar, and his usefulness in the ministry, had imprudently, it seems, allowed a number of persons to assemble at his marriage, which, still more imprudently, he solemnized in a manner calculated to excite doubts respecting his views on rites and ceremonies. Scarcely a fortnight was allowed to elapse, when he was apprehended by order of the bishop of London, conveyed to the Gate-house, and cast into a dungeon. This occurred in the year 1579, and, melancholy to be said, it was not till 1584 that he obtained, by petitioning the Privy Council, any redress of his wrongs. "Thus I continue," says he, in his address, "separated from my wife before I had been married to her two weeks, to the great trouble of her friends and relations, and to the staggering of the patient obedience of my wife; for since my imprisonment, his lordship has been endeavouring to separate us, whom God has joined together, in the open presence of his people. Wherefore, I most humbly beseech your godly honours, for the everlasting love of God, and for the pity you take upon God's true Protestants, and his poor people, to be a means that my pitiful cry may be heard, and my just cause with some credit be cleared, to God's honour and her majesty's, whose favour I esteem more than all the bishop's blessings or bitter cursings; and that I now, being half dead, may recover again to get a poor living, with the little learning that God has sent me, to his

glory, to the discharging some part of my duty, and to the profit of the land." *

The petition thus worded procured from the council the following letter to the bishop: "Whereas Barnaby Benison, minister, has given us to understand the great hindrance he has received by your hard dealing with him, and his long imprisonment, for which, if he should bring his action of false imprisonment, he should recover damages which would touch your lordship's credit; we, therefore, have thought fit to require your lordship to use some consideration towards him, in giving him some sum of money to repay the wrong you have done him, and in respect of the hindrance he hath incurred by your hard dealing towards him. Therefore praying your lordship to deal with the poor man, that he may have occasion to turn his complaint into giving to us a good report of your charitable dealing, we bid you heartily farewell." † Among the names signed to this instrument are those of Leicester, Walsingham and Burleigh, the last mentioned not very likely to be excited by a tale that was not founded in fact.

As an illustration of the dangers to which almost every exercise of the ministry was exposed, we may mention the case of Travers and the venerable Hooker: the former had distinguished himself at Cambridge, and been admitted to the degree of bachelor of divinity. As an associate of Cartwright, he was well known for his adherence to the doctrines of the puritans, which was further confirmed by a visit to Geneva. On leaving that city, he repaired to Antwerp, where he received ordination in a synod of twelve ministers, whose certificate states, that their very learned, pious and excellent brother, the reverend doctor Walter Travers, had been, "by the unanimous votes and ardent desires of all present, received and instituted into the ministry of God's holy Word, and confirmed according to the accustomed manner, with prayer and imposition of hands; and that the next day, after the Sabbath, having preached before a full congregation of English, at the request of the ministers, he was acknowledged and received most

* Neal, vol. i., p. 349.

† Ibid., p. 350.

affectionately by the whole church." Some time after this, we find him in England, and taking a part in the conference at Lambeth. Such also was the reputation of his arguments that Lord Burleigh appointed him his chaplain, and procured him the readership at the Temple. This was but a poor preferment for a man so highly esteemed, but it was almost the only one which his scruples would allow him to accept. When the mastership fell vacant, efforts were made to secure his elevation to that office, but there were manifest objections to his appointment, and Hooker was elected in his stead.

Though no personal prejudices or quarrel existed to prevent the agreement of these learned and pious men, scarcely any two could have been found more opposed in feeling or opinion. This soon became apparent to those whom they addressed from the pulpit. In the morning, Hooker supported the strictest views of the Church; and in the afternoon Travers so powerfully defended those of the nonconformists, that it was impossible not to regard his discourse as an answer to that of the master. The latter, on the following Sunday, returned to the charge, and another reply followed. In this state things continued for two years; when Hooker made his case known to the archbishop, led thereto, we may conclude, from his gentle forbearing disposition, not so much by personal considerations, as by his anxiety for the edification of those placed under his charge.

Circumstances favoured Hooker's application, and Travers was silenced on the plea, "that he was no lawfully ordained minister according to the Church of England: that he preached without being licensed: that he had openly presumed to confute such doctrine as had been publicly delivered by another preacher, without giving notice of these controversial sallies to the lawful ordinary; and that this liberty was contrary to a provision made in the seventh year of this reign, for avoiding disturbances in the Church."

The order being thus framed, Lord Burleigh endeavoured to persuade Travers to remove the objection against him, and accept orders according to the rites

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of the Church. But to this he answered, "As for myself, I had a sufficient title to the ministerial office, having been ordained according to God's holy Word, with prayer and imposition of hands, and according to the order of a church of the same faith and profession with the Church of England, as appears by my testimonials."* The assertion here made was defended by arguments which show the unsettled state of opinion, at the time, on almost every subject connected with religion. "The making of a minister," it is said, "being once lawfully done, ought not by the Word of God to be repeated. Pastors and teachers of the Church in the New Testament had in like manner, by the same Word, their calling to the ministry." Further, it is contended, "that the reiterating in one dominion what was sufficiently done in another, taketh from Christ's authority given him of God in all places: that it made his kingdom like the kingdom of an earthly prince, as if it were bounded with certain limits. That the repeating of the former calling to the ministry made void that former calling, and consequently such acts as were done by him, as confirmations, marriages, &c.: that repeating of one action of that nature, which by the Word of God was not to be reiterated, made the repeating of all others, which were of the like nature, as lawful. As, to be baptized again, and married again, to such persons as come into this country after their baptism, or marriage, celebrated in another. That the making void such actions, as were done in all the Churches of God, gave dangerous occasion of schisms and divisions, since the Church of God is one, and a communion was to be maintained among all the saints, and in all the churches: that the universal and perpetual practice of all Christendom, in all places and in all ages, proved that ministers lawfully made in any church of sound profession ought to be acknowledged such in any other." Having brought some instances, in illustration of the latter statement, and among them, which is not a little extraordinary, the case of Polycarp when he visited Rome, he cites the statute of the 13th of Elizabeth, and says, "that the law appointed

* Neal, vol. i., p. 357.

not any formerly ordered to be ordered again, according to the form established, but only to subscribe the articles to qualify them to officiate." *

The archbishop subjoined short notes to the chief points in the above argument. They were such as most well-instructed churchmen would have added; nor could it be disputed by any unprejudiced witness of what had taken place, that the proceedings of Travers imperatively called for the interference of the archbishop. His very last act in the Temple was to take notes of Hooker's sermon, and disperse them, with commentaries of his own, among the hearers. The venerable master had stated, "that he doubted not but that God was merciful to thousands of our fathers who lived in popish superstition; for that they sinned ignorantly, but we have the light of the truth." Travers met this with a direct contradiction, stating, "that salvation belonged to the Church of Christ; and that we might not think that they could be capable of it who lived in the errors held and maintained in the Church of Rome, that seat of antichrist."

Cartwright lost no opportunity of aiding the same cause as Travers: he had, like the latter, gathered from circumstances, personally affecting him, fresh motives for party zeal. The injury inflicted on him by the loss of his professorship, and the refusal of his degree, was not likely to be forgotten. However necessary or just the proceeding might be, on the part of those with whom it originated, the feelings to which it gave rise were precisely those most calculated to imbitter a spirit already inclined to resentful opposition. The subsequent career of this celebrated leader of the puritans tended perhaps more than that of any other individual to the establishment of the party. He threw the whole of his heart into it; and he was qualified, far above the common run of controversialists, to support his cause by argument. Called at length before the court of high commission, articles were exhibited against him which afford in themselves a history of the struggles in

* *Strype: Life of Whitgift*, vol. i., b. iii., p. 479, and *Records and Originals*, number xxx., 107.

which the Church, and the chief men among the dissenters were unhappily engaged. No prejudice, it must be confessed, is created by the proceedings in favour of those who represented the former. Cartwright was called upon to take an oath to answer the interrogatories of his judges. To this demand he replied, that he believed the laws of God did not oblige him to obedience; and it is plain that the questions were worded in a manner which left him no chance of escape if compelled to answer them according to the mind of his examiners.*

The first of the articles states, "We do object and articulate against him, that he being a minister, at least a deacon, lawfully called, according to the godly laws and orders of this Church of England, hath forsaken, abandoned and renounced the same orders ecclesiastical, as an antichristian and unlawful manner of calling unto the ministry or deaconship." The second, that "he departing this realm into foreign parts, without license, as a man discontented with the form of government ecclesiastical, here by law established, the more to testify his dislike and contempt thereof, and of the manner of his former vocation and ordination, was contented in foreign parts, at Antwerp, Middleburgh or elsewhere, to have a new vocation, election or ordination, by imposition of hands, unto the ministry, or unto some other order or degree ecclesiastical, and in other manner and form, than the laws ecclesiastical of this realm do prescribe. Let him declare upon his oath the particular circumstances thereof." The third, that, "by virtue or colour of such his latter vocation, election or ordination, becoming a pretended bishop or pastor of such congregation as made choice of him, he established or procured to be established at Antwerp and at Middleburgh, among merchants and others, her majesty's subjects, a certain consistory, seminary, presbytery or eldership ecclesiastical, consisting of himself, being bishop or pastor, and so president thereof, of a doctor, of certain antients, seniors or elders, for government ecclesiastical, and of deacons for distributing to the poor." Fourthly, it is objected, "That by the said

* Collier, vol. vii., p. 121, 129.

eldership, and the authority thereof, certain English-born subjects were called, elected or ordained, by imposition of hands, to be ministers or ecclesiastical doctors, being not of that degree before, as Hart, Travers, Grise, or some of them; and some that were also ministers afore, according to the orders of the Church of England, as Fenner, Acton, were so called, and other English subjects were also called, and likewise ordained elders, and some others were ordained deacons, in other manner and form than the laws ecclesiastical of the realm do prescribe or allow of." Fifthly, "That such eldership so established under the presidentship of him the said Thomas Cartwright, had used (besides this authority of this vocation and ordination of officers ecclesiastical) the censures and keys of the Church, as public admonition, suspension from the Supper, and from execution of offices ecclesiastical, and the censures of excommunication: likewise authority of making laws, degrees and orders ecclesiastical, and of dealing with the doctrine and manners of all persons in that congregation, in all matters whatsoever, so far as might appertain to conscience." Sixthly, "That he, the said Thomas Cartwright, in the public administration of his ministry there, among her majesty's subjects, used not the form of liturgy or Book of Common Prayer, by the laws of this land established, nor, in his government ecclesiastical, the laws and orders of this land, but rather conformed himself in both to the use and form of some other foreign churches."

Thus far the articles concerned Cartwright's proceedings on the Continent. A fit of ague had obliged him to return to this country.* On his landing he was immediately apprehended and conveyed to prison; a sad reception, it must be confessed, for a man eminently distinguished as a scholar; regarded by many as not less venerable for piety and deep devotion to the cause of truth, and now sinking under the burden of most distressing sickness. An interview with the archbishop delivered Cartwright from the miseries of confinement. The prelate was moved, it is said, by his appearance and demeanour, and Leicester did not fail to use what

* Neal, vol. i., p. 371.

seemed a favourable opportunity, for requesting that Cartwright might be permitted to preach. Whitgift, however, though properly allowing himself to be softened to an act of personal kindness, could not be persuaded to err against his settled rule of action in public matters. "Mr. Cartwright," he said, "shall be welcome to me at all times; but to grant him a license to preach, till I am better satisfied of his conformity, is not consistent with my duty or conscience."

That Cartwright was far from contented with the position allotted him in his new office, appears from the following articles: in which it is stated, first, "That since his last return from beyond the seas, being to be placed at Warwick, he faithfully promised (if he might be but tolerated to preach) not to impugn the laws, orders, policy, government, nor governors in this Church of England, but to persuade and procure, so much as he could, both publicly and privately, the estimation and peace of this Church." Secondly; "That he having no ministry in this Church (other than such as afore he had forsaken, and still condemneth as unlawful) and without any license (as law requireth) he hath since taken upon him to preach at Warwick and at sundry other places in this realm." Thirdly, "That since his said return, in sundry private conferences, with such ministers and others, as at sundry times, by word and letter, have asked his advice or opinion, he hath shewed mislike of the laws and government ecclesiastical, and of divers parts of the liturgy of this Church; and thereby persuaded, and prevailed also with many in sundry points, to break the orders and form of the Book of Common Prayer, who observed them before, and also to oppose themselves to the government of this Church, as himself well knoweth or verily believeth."

The articles next adduced are founded on his observations against the bishops: thus it is said, "That he hath grown so far in hatred and dislike towards them, as that at sundry times, in his prayer at sermons, and namely, preaching at Banbury, about a year since, in such place as others well disposed pray for bishops, he

prayed to this or like effect: *Because that they which ought to be pillars in the Church, do bend themselves against Christ and his truth, therefore, O Lord, give us grace and power, all as one man, to set ourselves against them.* And this in effect, by way of emphasis, he then also repeated." Again: "That preaching at sundry times and places, he usually reacheth at all occasions, to deprave, condemn and impugn the manner of ordination of bishops, ministers and deacons: sundry points of the polity, government, laws, orders and rights ecclesiastical, and of the public liturgy of the Church of England, contained in the Book of Common Prayer; as namely, the use of the surplice, the interrogatories to godfathers and godmothers in the name of infants; the cross in baptism; the ring in marriage; the thanksgiving after childbirth; burials by ministers; the kneeling at communion; some points of the litany; certain collects and prayers; the reading of portions of scripture for the epistle and gospel; and the manner of singing in cathedral churches and others."

So also with regard to the government of the Church, he is said to have spoken much in its derogation and of its unlawfulness, and no less openly in justification, "of a government by elderships in every congregation, and by conference and synods abroad, as divine institutions commanded by Christ, and the only lawful Church government; seeking to prove and establish such elderships out of that word in one of the psalms where *thrones* are mentioned." Moreover, "that by toleration and impunity, he did grow so confident, and withal implacable against the laws, government and orders of this Church of England, that he could not endure Mr. Bourdman and others, preaching sundry times at Warwick, to speak in defence thereof, but took upon him to confute in sundry sermons there, those things which the said Bourdman had truly and dutifully, in that behalf, spoken and delivered."

It appears from other articles that these efforts on the side of his party were not made in vain; for it is said, "that by his persuasions, privately and publicly delivered, sundry persons, in and about Warwick, were

appointed to impugn, both in words and deeds, the laws, orders and rights prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer." And "that sundry times (or at least once), when he communicated at the Lord's Supper there, he sat or stood upon his feet; and divers others, induced by his persuasions and example, both then and at other times, did the like: and that at other times there, or in other places, where he hath communicated, both himself and others (as he had appointed or persuaded afore) did walk along and receive the sacrament of the minister as they passed by him."

Then follow other proofs of the systematic plans adopted for establishing the independence of the puritans. "Since his placing at Warwick," it is said, "he with others at such times as they saw fit, have agreed to have, and so have had, divers public fasts without the queen's authority, and have invited and persuaded both sundry persons to be there present, and also certain to preach, to the number of three, four or five, successively, one after another, being all noted to be such as mislike and impugn sundry points of the laws, government and liturgy ecclesiastical of this Church of England. In which sermons both he, the said Cartwright, and such others also as then preached, did impugn and inveigh against the present laws, government, polity and liturgy ecclesiastical of this Church of England." Moreover, "that from time to time, since his abode in Warwick, by his practice and dealing, he hath nourished a faction and heart-burning of one inhabitant there against another, severing them in his own and his followers' speeches, by the names of *the godly*, or *brethren favouring sincerity*, and *the profane*. Again: "That he doth know, or hath credibly heard, who were the penners, printers or some of the dispersers of the several libels going under the name of *Martin Marprelate*: of the *Demonstration of Discipline*, of *Diotrephes*; and such like books, before it was known to authority; and yet in favour of such, and contempt of good laws, did not manifest the same to any who had authority to punish it." Still further: "That being asked his opinion of such books, he answered thus in

effect, or something tending this way, meaning the bishops, and others there touched would not amend by grave books and advertisements, and therefore it was meet they should thus be dealt with, to their further reproach and shame." So also, "that for and in the behalf of the Church of England, he penned or procured to be penned all or some part of a little book entitled in one part, *Disciplina Ecclesiæ sacra Verbo Dei descripta*; and in the other part, *Disciplina Synodica in Ecclesiarum usu*. And after it was perused by others, whom he first acquainted therewith, he recommended the same to the censures and judgments of more brethren, being learned preachers, and some others, assembled together by his means, for that and other like purposes. Which, after deliberation, and some alterations, was by them, or most of them, allowed as the only lawful Church government, and fit to be put in practice; and the ways and means for the practising thereof in this realm were also then, or not long after, agreed or concluded upon by them."

That the latter determination had not been allowed to remain as a mere verbal expression of opinion appears from the following article, in which it is stated that Cartwright and sundry others had met "in assemblies, termed synods, more general as at London, at terms and parliament times; in Oxford at the Act; in Cambridge at the times of commencement and Stourbridge fair; and also more particular and provincial synods, and at classes or conferences of certain selected ministers; in one or more places of sundry several shires, as Warwick, Northampton, Rutland, Oxford, Leicester, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex and others." Moreover, "that at such synods and conferences, it hath been concluded, that all the ministers which should be received to be either of the said general synods, or of any more particular and provincial, or of a classis or conference, should subscribe to the said discipline, that they did allow it, would promote it, practise it, and be governed by it. And according to the form of a schedule hereunto annexed, or such like, both he, the said Thomas Cartwright, and many others, at sundry or some general

assemblies, as at provincial and at several conferences, have within the said time subscribed the same or some part thereof."

The following article is cited to show the systematic manner in which the business of the conference was conducted: "At such synods and all other assemblies, a moderator of that meeting was first by him and them chosen, according to the prescription of the said book. And at some of such meetings and assemblies, amongst other things, it was resolved and concluded, that such particular conferences in several shires should be erected: how many persons, and with what letters from every of them, should be sent to the general assembly; and that one of them at their coming home to their conference should make known the determinations of the general assembly, to be by every of them followed, and put in practice. Which course in sundry places of this realm hath, within the time aforesaid, been accordingly followed and performed." Lastly: "That all such several meetings, synods and conferences, within the said time; many other determinations, as well what should be done and performed or omitted; as also what should be holden consonant to God's Word, or disagreeing from it, have been set down by the said Thomas Cartwright and others. As namely, that all admitted to either assembly should subscribe the said book of discipline, *holy and synodical*: that those who were sent from any conference to a synod, should bring letters fiduciary, or of *credence*: that the last moderator should write them: that the superscription thereof should be to a known man of the assembly then to be holden: that no book made by any of them should be put in print but by consent of the classis at least: that some of them must be earnest; and some more mild and temperate, whereby there may be both of the spirit of Elias and Elizeus: that all admitted amongst them should subscribe, and promise to conform themselves in their proceedings, administration of sacraments, and of discipline, to the form of that book; and that they would subject themselves to the censuring of the brethren, both for doctrine and life; and, lastly,

that upon occasion, when any of their brethren shall be sent by them upon affairs of the Church (as to the great meetings, parliament, &c.), they all would bear their charges in common : that there might be no superiority among them, and that the moderatorship (as it happened) is not a superiority or honour, but a burden : that no profane writer, or any other than canonical scripture, may be alleged in sermons : that they should all teach that the ministry of those who did not preach, is no ministry, but a mere nullity : that it is not lawful to take any oath, whereby a man may be driven to discover any thing penal to himself, or to his brother, especially if he be persuaded the matter to be lawful for which the punishment is like to be inflicted, or having taken it, in this case need not discover the very truth : that to a bishop or other officer ecclesiastical, as is used now in the Church of England, none obedience ought to be given, neither in appearing before them, in doing that which they command, nor in abstaining from that which they inhibit : that in such places as the most of the people favoured the cause of sincerity, eldership should warily and wisely be placed and established ; which consistory, in some places, hath been either wholly, or in part, erected accordingly ; yea, in some colleges in the university, as he (Cartwright) knoweth, hath heard, or verily believeth."

No slight degree of guilt was incurred by the refusal to take an oath before the high commission. The accused and his companions were accordingly committed to prison, and there, probably, would have remained but for the intercession of powerful friends, and the kindly feeling, it is said, which the archbishop himself entertained towards Cartwright.

But the same mercy was far from being shown to all. One of the most melancholy instances of the trials endured by the nonconformists occurred at this time, and is not to be contemplated without mingled pity and indignation. Udal had been minister of Kingston-upon-Thames, whence he was driven by the sentence of Archdeacon Hone. He then proceeded to Newcastle, and preached for some time undisturbed,

pleading as his apology for so doing, that, though silenced by the archdeacon of Kingston, he was not bound to refrain from preaching in a province far removed from his jurisdiction. At length, however, orders were sent for his apprehension, and having been brought back to London, he was carried before the commissioners, and strictly questioned as to the part he had taken in the publication of the scandalous works which had lately been issued by the puritans. To these inquiries he freely answered, that none of the libels spoken of had proceeded from his pen; but on being asked who was the author of the book entitled, "The Demonstration of Discipline which Christ hath prescribed in his Word for the Government of His Church, in all Times and Places, until the World's End," he refused to answer.

It can be no matter of surprise, that the work alluded to had moved the indignation of the heads of the Church. In his preface, addressing the bishops, he says, "Who can deny you, without blushing, to be the cause of all ungodliness, seeing your government is that which giveth leave to a man to be any thing saving a sound Christian? For certainly it is more free in these days to be a papist, anabaptist, of the family of love, yea, as any most wicked whatsoever, than that which we should be. And I could live these twenty years as well as any such in England, yea, in a bishop's house it may be, and never be molested for it. So true is that which you are charged with in a dialogue lately come forth against you, and since burnt by you, that you care for nothing but the maintenance of your dignities, be it to the damnation of your own souls, and infinite millions more."*

The charge, however, made against Udal was not that he had slandered the bishops, but that he had uttered seditious words against the queen; and when he averred that this was not the case, the judges argued, "that those who speak against her majesty's government in cases ecclesiastical, her laws, proceedings or ecclesias-

* Fuller, b. ix., p. 222.

tical officers, which ruled under her, did defame the queen." *

Every effort was made to persuade Udal to deny or confess on oath that he was the author of the obnoxious treatise. "You have taken an oath before," it was urged; "why should you not take it now?" "I then," he answered, "voluntarily confessed certain things concerning my preaching of the points of discipline, which could never have been proved; and when my friends laboured to have me restored to my ministry, the archbishop answered, there was sufficient matter against me by my own confession why I should not be restored; whereupon I covenanted with my own heart never to be my own accuser again."

Udal was declared guilty, but the archbishop interfered, and at his desire the judge refrained for the time from passing sentence. In the unfortunate minister's own account of the proceedings, it is said, "I was carried to the Gate-house by a messenger, who delivered me with a warrant to be kept close prisoner, and not to be suffered to have pen, ink or paper, or any body to speak with me. Thus I remained half a year, in all which time my wife could not get leave to come to me, saving only that in the hearing of the keeper she might speak to me and I to her, of such things as she should think meet: all which time my chamber-fellows were seminary priests, traitors and professed papists. At the end of the half year I was removed to the White Lion in Southwark, and so carried to the assizes at Croydon."

The trial at Croydon disgraced the justice of the times. Not a single witness was confronted with the accused, and he was found guilty on mere written statements, penned by those who were confidently said to have repented of the part which they had taken against him. Fresh attempts were made to induce him to confess his guilt, and plead for pardon. A paper was placed before him, purporting that "The Demonstration of Discipline" contained "false, slanderous and seditious matters." This he was desired formally to sign, and to

* Collier, vol. vii., p. 117.

to add "that he did humbly, on his knees, confess the grievousness of his offence, and submit himself to the mercy of the queen, promising that if it should please God to move her royal heart to have compassion on him, 'a most sorrowful convicted person,' he would for ever forsake all such undutiful and dangerous courses, and demean himself dutifully and peaceably."

This instrument Udal persisted to the last in refusing to sign; but that it was not under the influence of pride or obstinacy, may be gathered from the paper delivered to the court on the day preceding his condemnation. "Concerning the book," he states, "whereof I was by due course of law convicted, by referring myself to the trial of the law, and for that by the verdict of twelve men, I am found to be the author of it, for which cause an humble submission is worthily required and offered of me; although I cannot disavow the cause and substance of the doctrine debated in it, which I must needs acknowledge to be holy, and, so far as I conceive it, agreeable to the Word of God, yet I confess the manner of writing it is such in some part as may worthily be blamed, and might provoke her majesty's just indignation therein. Whereof the trial of the law imputing to me all such defaults as are in that book, and laying the punishment of the same in most grievous manner upon me, as my most humble suit to her most excellent majesty is, that her mercy and gracious pardon may free me from the guilt and offence which the said trial of the law hath cast upon me, and farther, of her great clemency to restore me to the comfort of my life and liberty, so do I promise, in all humble submission to God and her majesty, to carry myself in the whole course of my life, in such humble and dutiful obedience as shall befit a minister of the gospel and dutiful subject, fervently and continually praying for a good preservation of her highness's precious life and happy government, to the honour of God and comfort of her loyal and dutiful subjects."

Submissive as was the tone of this address, it produced no effect. The same ill success attended other appeals to the judges; but being called up to receive sentence, he presented a summary of the objections which most

men of honest mind considered might be urged against his condemnation. At the close of this statement, he says, "If all this prevail not, yet my Redeemer liveth, to whom I commend myself, and say, as sometime Jeremiah said in a case not much unlike, 'Behold, I am in your hands to do with me whatsoever seemeth good unto you:' but know you this, that if you put me to death, you shall bring innocent blood upon your own heads, and upon the land. As the blood of Abel, so the blood of Udal, will cry to God with a loud voice, and the righteous Judge of the land will require it at the hands of all that shall be guilty of it."

The sentence which had been so long hanging over his head was at length passed. He was condemned to die, but infamous as were the whole of the proceedings, the court, it appears, shrunk from incurring the guilt and shame of their consummation. A respite arrived, and some distinguished clergymen were directed to renew the attempts before made to induce him to sign a submission. His firmness, however, had not forsaken him. He would do no more than express regret at having written some things in a temper not agreeable to Christian moderation. For the rest, his utter dislike to the doctrines professed by the sectaries of the day, and his attachment to the Church, were plainly set forth in a sort of confession of faith which he addressed to the queen. "I believe," said he, "and have often preached, that the Church of England is a part of the true visible Church, the word and sacraments being duly dispensed. For which reason I have communicated with it several years at Kingston, and a year at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and do still desire to be a preacher in the same Church. Therefore, I utterly renounce the schism and separation of the Brownists: I do allow the articles of religion as far as they contain the doctrine of faith and sacraments according to law: I do believe the queen's majesty hath, and ought to have, supreme authority over all persons, in all causes, ecclesiastical and civil; and if the prince commands any thing contrary to the Word of God, it is not lawful for subjects to rebel or resist, but with patience and humility to bear the punishment laid upon

them: I believe the Church, rightly reformed, ought to be governed ecclesiastically by ministers, assisted by elders, as in the foreign reformed Churches: I believe the censures of the Church ought merely to concern the soul, and may not impeach any subject, much less any prince, in liberty of body, goods, dominion or any earthly privilege; nor do I believe that a Christian prince ought otherwise to be subject to Church censures, than our gracious queen professes herself to be to the preaching of the Word, and the administration of the sacraments."

Credit may be given to Whitgift for having used his interest in preventing the execution of Udal's sentence.* But surely neither he nor the other bishops ought to be acquitted of all share of the guilt attending this affair. It was by the Church that the persecution was begun, and there can be little doubt that if a purely Christian

* Life and Acts, vol. II., p. 40. An answer was published about this time to Udal's "Demonstration," under the title of "*A Remonstrance to the Demonstration.*" Of the archbishop it is said, in this book, "Touching that most reverend prelate, you and your complices may, in this licentious and outrageous world, speak pleasantly: never yet good man spake but honour of him; whom her majesty hath graciously vouchsafed, under her, to exercise christian jurisdiction and authority; whose primacy is humility; who is for his virtue no less honourable than loved; whose learning angereth you; unto whom if ye will make answer, you must study for more learning. I am verily persuaded, that as God in all ages raised excellent men, instruments of his glory, to confute and banish out of the earth heresy, as Athanasius against the Arians, Augustin against the Donatists, Augustine and Hierom against the Pelagians, and in our later time Bishop Jewel against the false Catholics and Semipelagians; so God hath stirred up this learned man against the false brethren and Arians of our time, to hammer and beat down the schism and singularity of puritans. And further, I speak it in the fear of God, had not her majesty's principal spirit of wisdom, illuminated with God's truth, together with the heroical prudent spirits of certain honourable personages and industrious learned men, affecting a provident care of the posterity of the Church, patronized this church discipline, your private spirits of new-fangled discipline haply had more prevailed against these godly and religious proceedings in the Church, nay, to the utter removing of the gospel, by such confusion and anarchy. Imagine that you see the external face of that Church; where you might see so many thousand superintendents; so many elderahips advanced, in or about the Church, to make orders and to censure at pleasure; where the people give voices; the laity lay on hands; the majesty of the prince excluded from all sway in the presbytery; all antiquity forlorn; all councils utterly repelled; doctrine divided from exhortation; laymen deacons of the Church; parish bishops, parrot teachers; the universities disgraced of the privilege of granting degrees; cathedral churches by greedy wolves spoiled; all courts of justice overthrown, or impaired by the consistorial court of elders; and, as it were, all the trees of the garden of Eden plucked up, to implant the fair goodly elders, or elder-tree.

spirit and feeling had existed on the subject, the influence of its dignitaries would have been at least sufficient to save Udal from being condemned to suffer the death of a felon. The character of the trial; the endeavours made to induce him to recant; the very fact of his respite, all tend to prove that the heads of the Church were conscious of the iniquity of the affair, while they were wanting in courage, or generosity, to correct the error into which their unwholesome zeal had plunged them.

For two years was Udal allowed to linger in prison after sentence had been passed upon him. During that time, such was the interest taken in his case, that King James of Scotland was induced to plead with the queen for his liberation. An offer was made by the Turkey merchants to send him as their chaplain to the factories in Syria or Guinea, and Udal, rejoicing at the bare prospect of liberty, gladly declared his readiness to accept the offer, would the queen but consent to change his sentence into that of banishment. A gleam of hope amused him for the moment, while his friends were soliciting the court for mercy: but it was only for the moment. The queen delayed to sign the pardon. The ship in which he was to have embarked sailed without him; and after lingering a few months longer in captivity, he sunk under the sorrows accumulated during a three years' imprisonment, and died of a broken heart.*

That Udal was justified in either writing as he did, or pursuing the course he had adopted, will hardly be asserted by those who know how much of evil

* Warburton says, that Neal's account of Udal's death is unworthy of a candid historian, or an honest man; but it is not disputed that Udal died in prison, and of a broken heart. The bishop says, and the boldness of the remark is as great as its want of truth, that there is as much difference between an historian's pronouncing a man heart-broken, and actual breaking on a wheel, as between a priest's pronouncing an excommunicate damned, and actual damnation. But Neal did not affirm what the bishop's censure would seem to imply. He numbered Udal 'among the divines who suffered death for the libels mentioned,' and then gives a particular account of his sufferings, and of the way in which they were terminated: a melancholy result, very different indeed from that of an excommunication, supposed in the bishop's comparison to have left the excommunicate totally unscathed. —Warburton's Works, vol. xii., p. 384.

is likely to proceed from the inflammatory language which he used, and from the example which he set of disregard for authority. But it is one thing to chastise, to silence and repress; and another to take vengeance. Had the heads of the Church been content to punish according to their rightful jurisdiction, as put in charge of discipline and doctrine, an inestimable treasure, and the keeping of which must be attended with equal authority and responsibility, they would have acted but according to their duty. When, on the contrary, they looked on, and, to all appearance, applauded while an opponent or libeller of the Church was condemned to death as a felon, they virtually sacrificed much, both of their rights and dignities. Udal was amenable to the Church for what he had done, and the Church had a right to punish him; but it ought, at the same time, to have been satisfied with the latitude which its principles and the nature of its foundation allowed. It can scarcely be questioned that a fatal mistake was committed by the Church in this and other like instances. Not only did it descend, as it were, from its throne and seat of judgment, and seemingly confess that it was wanting in something to its own completeness, but it inflamed many who were not yet its enemies with inextinguishable hatred; it led those who had formed but very imperfect notions of religion, to believe that it was not quite safe to take any deep interest in its affairs; and the cause of separation and dissent became, from that time, the supposed palladium of liberality, unselfish devotion to piety, and whatever is popularly regarded as opposed to formalism, tyranny and corruption. The puritans needed no better help to further their designs. They saw plainly, that as the Church was glad to have recourse to all the instruments of political power for its defence, they must lose no opportunity of making a party for themselves, and strengthening, by every means at their command, the feelings entertained in their favour by some few of the chief men at court. A spirit eminently watchful, patient and persevering, distinguished the dissenters of this period. They had, many of them, held long com-

munion with the Genevan divines or their associates ; and never were men more remarkable than the early scholars of Calvin for sternness and resolution of purpose, for clear-sightedness, for acuteness to discern the strength or weakness of means, or ability to take advantage of the former, or wait in the latter case for their improvement. The force thus possessed was carefully stored till opportunities should arise for its employment. Temptations to precipitate movements were as carefully avoided as the warmth of individual tempers would allow ; and hence the party grew every day in power and influence, exposing itself to persecution only as it sent forth first this, and then that, emissary to try the temper of the ruling party, and remaining content with the hope, that a season would in due time arrive when they might dictate to their opponents as the latter now dictated to them.

The opinions of the puritans were not restrictively their own. This must often be the case with a party ; but when the opinions which characterize it, because put prominently forth, are such as favour strictness of manners, the party soon acquires as much credit, in popular estimation, as it would be entitled to were it itself the author of the rules which it applauds. No sooner is this discovered than another step is commonly taken. What obtained praise in the lower degree, will secure greater admiration, it is hoped, in the higher. Thus virtuous self-discipline will be exaggerated into torture ; fasting into maceration ; devotional retirement into quietism, and even the simplest duty into a monster or a caricature. The proper nature of the Sabbath is among the first things forgotten in the corruption of religion. It is only when the minds of a people are fully sensible of the value of the means of grace, and when they have, at least, no very erroneous notions of what those means of grace consist, that the Sabbath is likely to be well observed.

During the long reign of corruption preceding the Reformation, the Sabbath, like every other institution, which truth and holiness had enriched, was despoiled of its best treasures. Though acknowledged as holy, it

was desecrated by every profanation that the world could invent ; and while admitted to be a day especially exempted from lower cares, that souls might be comforted and nourished, it was for ages allowed to pass away without a question being asked, whether its original purpose was really gained by the progressive increase of light and knowledge among mankind.

An improvement could hardly fail to take place at the Reformation in the mode of keeping the Sabbath. With the awaking of men's minds to thought and inquiry came a new and increasing appetite for information. The Sabbath was the only day which the mass of the people could give to meditation or inquiry. It was not, moreover, from books merely that they could gather the explanations of which they stood in need, or hear answers to the many anxious questionings with which minds of almost every class were at this time busied. Without ascribing to the period, therefore, any extraordinary increase of devotional feeling, it may reasonably be concluded, that the Sabbath recovered at the Reformation much of the homage which it had long lost. It was once more a day longed for, not, perhaps, simply on account of its highest offices, but, at least, for the sake of objects infinitely superior to those about which it had hitherto been wasted. And this improvement was likely to continue as long as the excitement lasted in which it had its origin ; as long, that is, as men hungered and thirsted after the rich supplies which the Sabbath provided for their religious wants. When this kind of appetite began to cloy, the old signs of neglect or perversion soon re-appeared. The delight with which the call to hear and pray had been heard, ceased to be felt except by the few. A feeling of the importance of the Sabbath had been implanted which was not likely at once to vanish ; and had the Reformation effected nothing more than thus improve the sentiments of the people on a subject so essential to their interests, it would have been hailed as a blessing by pious minds of all subsequent ages. That its benign effects in this respect have never been entirely lost, is evident from the fact, that in scarcely any country where its principles were esta-

blished, has the Sabbath ceased to be observed with a reverence which secures to those who know its value and its sacredness, the most ample opportunities of instruction and devotional tranquillity. But true as this is, the first feeling on the subject quickly yielded to ordinary worldly influences; and the divines who appreciated most intensely the worth of sabbatical ordinances, while they grieved at the appearance of returning coldness, neglected no means in their power to convince the people of the danger which attended the desecration of the sacred day.

It is worthy of observation, that the party by which the most strenuous efforts were made to secure the strictness of the Sabbath, was the one least likely to be moved by superstitious considerations. Days regarded as holy by others, were by the leaders of this party angrily struck out of the calendar. It must, therefore, have been mainly on considerations suggested by the practical benefits attending a strictly-observed Sabbath, that they rested their arguments. To a very large extent the reasoning they employed prevailed; but when the line of argument, founded on the most obvious principles, failed for want of sympathy in those upon whom it was urged, they had immediate recourse to another species of proof, and insisted upon the law of the Sabbath with even a greater degree of severity than they had spoken of its moral and evangelical claims.

A controversy sprung out of this subject full of bitterness and peril. One of the principal writers on the question was a Dr. Bound, who insisted in his work, first, that the command of sanctifying every seventh day is moral and perpetual. Secondly, that though the rest of the Mosaic law ceased on the establishment of the gospel, the Sabbath remained in force with the simple change of the day. Thirdly, that the rest of the Sabbath must be of the most especial kind; so that, fourthly, scholars must not study, nor lawyers entertain clients nor peruse evidence: serjeants, apparators and summoners must be prohibited from executing their respective offices: justices of peace must not take examinations, nor act upon that day. Again: it is

declared unlawful to ring more bells than one; to hold public feasts, or make wedding-dinners; to partake of ordinary diversions, or to discourse of recreations, news or business.

To such excesses of opinion did the spirit of controversy at length drive men, that it is said to have been openly asserted, "that to throw a bowl on the Lord's day was as great a sin as to kill a man; that to make a feast or dress a wedding-dinner, as heinous an offence as for a father to take a knife and cut his child's throat; and that even to ring more bells than one on the Sabbath was as great a sin as to commit a murder.*

But wild and fanatical as were these assertions, they had an effect favourable to the puritans. The people believed them in earnest, and that was every thing. Feelings were appealed to which in all ages have been found most serviceable to the support of sects and parties. Men left in an unexciting state of liberty are as amused, for a time, with the novelty of restraint, as, when long kept from indulgence, they are with the utmost latitude of pleasure. To be obliged to be severe and strict, because they belong to a party which demands the sacrifice, inspires them with a sense of dignity. It is like wearing a uniform or badge of honour, and, till age tarnish its brightness, acts in the same manner as any other prize bestowed for fidelity.

The practices of the puritans did much to further their cause; the character of some of their doctrines, or rather, perhaps, the mode in which they were exhibited, did more. Among the dogmas most eagerly preached, and adopted with that species of earnestness which delights in making itself manifest; was the Genevan or Calvinistic view of election. On this subject, inquisitive minds had, ages before, loved to speculate and converse. Deep as it seems to lie below the range of human thought, it is one of those on which men of every class of intellect have considered themselves entitled to suggest their doubts, or propose their questions. The very difficulty and mysteriousness of the subject in this case, as in others, have first stimulated

* Collier, vol. vii., part ii., b. vii., p. 182.

to curious inquiry, and then concealed from the inquirer the errors into which he was momentarily falling. Calvin was elevated, both by piety and genius, at an almost infinite height above the temptation of adapting his views to times and circumstances; but had he been as subject as ordinary men to the workings of vanity and ambition, he could not have chosen points better adapted than those which have given a name to his system, to secure it the engrossing and passionate devotion of his followers.

It would be an interesting and not unprofitable inquiry, were it possible to answer the question, how far the more prominent opinions of parties, independent of circumstances, have tended to their success and establishment? Let us take from Calvin's system the doctrine alluded to; and would its moral features, its aspect and character, be in anywise the same? Would not the want of that severity, of that awfulness of the alternative which it appals the mind to contemplate, but which so strikingly presents itself in every exposition of Calvin's theology; would not the absence of that one feature alter the nature and appearance of the whole system, and change the tone of almost every phrase employed by its advocates and expounders?

But nothing could have been better calculated to rouse attention than the stronger points of this system. Propounded with a power rarely approached in the writings of theologians, the most accomplished divines could not fail to recognize in Calvin's arguments the spirit of earlier, devouter, nobler times. The common people, on the other hand, though unable to fathom the depths of his reasoning, could at once perceive what was positive in his theology, and had a satisfaction, solemn and fervent, in finding something presented to their thoughts, which, with all its terrors, had a startling grandeur, peculiarly acceptable to minds not yet sufficiently alive to the milder graces, or the remoter glories, of heavenly truth.

The puritans were struggling with a vigorous and patient spirit for what they believed to be the essentials of Christian freedom. But while the attention of those

who watched most jealously over the safety of the establishment was confined to questions concerning Church government and discipline, the progress of the party, in reality, was most effectually promoted by the firmer hold which its doctrines daily acquired in the hearts of the people. It is always difficult to speak of things of this kind, as matters of reflection, without incurring the charge of irreverence; but there can be little doubt that many of the commonest of human passions came to the aid of more intellectual impulses, and purer religious motives, in the formation of the Calvinistic party. Nothing is easier than the confounding of what belongs to an association, as such, with the great rewards that individuals supported by its maxims, its ordinances or other social helps, will attain to in the perfected state of their own personal virtues. This may be said of parties of very different degrees of dignity or importance. It is true of the smallest association as of the largest, and explains, in fact, one of the main causes of the force and energy with which men will act in a body, while, apart from each other, they are incapable of forming the least design savouring of an elevated spirit. But the puritans had constituted themselves a party, and that party claimed the honour due to extreme jealousy for the perfection of the gospel and the sole authority of Christ. Each member of the party regarded himself with complacency as having an indisputable title to this honour; and his zeal and inward confidence increased in exact proportion. This, however, was but an ordinary source of resolution. The other alluded to above, furnished stimulants to enthusiasm unequalled by the most powerful of any other class. When the doctrine of election was embraced, and that by men who felt themselves full of zeal, and zeal in most cases is easily mistaken for holiness, the acceptance of the doctrine, the entering into the party which professed it, was but a manifesting of the conviction that they were themselves of the number of the chosen. The very belief even in the doctrine seems to have been regarded as an especial instance of holiness. If it have not been directly spoken of as the faith which justifies,

it has been usually described in language that would lead to the conclusion, that, however fervent, however lively and intense the faith in Christ's merits, or the loving application of the spirit's grace, none of these things could so approve the believer to the people of God as a firm conviction of personal election.

Composed then of men imbued, for the most part, with all the sentiments springing from a doctrine of this kind, the puritan party had an element of strength calculated to secure it a large measure of success. To be numbered in its ranks, to be acknowledged by its members as faithful and acceptable servants of the gospel, to be accounted worthy partakers of the afflictions encountered in the present struggles, was little less than to be ranked with the most excellent and renowned of God's saints, and to hear the voice of heaven pronounce the decree of election.

We speak not here, let it be observed, of the awful doctrine on which these sentiments were founded; nor would we in anywise impugn the wisdom or piety of its most distinguished supporters. It is but in its bearings on the formation of the powerful party, now struggling with the Church, that we speak of its tendencies. In this respect it demands attention, in the same manner as any other mighty instrument employed to bring about great events. Had it been wanting, the puritans would probably never have prevailed, but would have rapidly yielded to the influence of the Church, and the mere force of circumstances.

The daily growth of the party was in nothing instanced so plainly, as by the power it possessed to gain the recognition of its favourite doctrine. In this it was confessedly aided by many of the clergy, and others who had no love for any of its other principles. The divines of Cambridge were particularly noted for their attachment to the whole of the predestinarian system. Dr. Whittaker, the Regius professor of divinity, was no less zealous than Cartwright himself had been in its defence.* The same is said to have been the case with

* The seeds of the controversy were sown by the lectures of this professor, and the other divinity professor, Dr. Baro, whose views were wholly opposed

most of the masters of colleges; and so generally were Calvin's views of the subject believed to be in accordance with the true faith of the catholic Church, that to oppose them was considered as little short of the sin of schism.

Whitgift took a very different view of this matter to that with which he regarded other parts of the puritan controversy. On the representation of Dr. Whittaker, he invited Dr. Fletcher, bishop of London elect; Dr. Vaughan, bishop elect of Bangor, and several other eminent men, to Lambeth, for the express purpose of discussing the doctrines in question. After a careful debate, evidently, from the result, carried on in a friendly and conciliatory spirit, the following articles were drawn up and agreed to: First, "God from all eternity has predestinated some persons to life, and some he has reprobated, or doomed to death and destruction:" Secondly, "The moving or efficient cause of

to Calvinism. A clericum preached at St. Mary's, by Barret, a fellow of Caius, brought the dispute more nearly to an issue. The objectionable points in the clericum were these: 1. *Neminem in hoc fragili mundo tanta firmitate esse sufficientem, saltem certitudine fidei, i. e. nisi per revelationem, ut de salute sua debeat esse securus.* 2. *Petri fidem deficere non potuisse, et aliorum posse. Nam pro fide singulorum non oravit Dominus.* 3. *Quoad finalem perseverantiam, superbam esse illam securitatem de futuro; eoque natura sua contingenti. Cujus generis est uniuscujusque nominis perseverantia: neque tantum superbam, sed impiissimam.* 4. *In fide nullam esse distinctionem, sed in credentibus.* 5. *Remissionem peccatorum esse articulum fidei, sed non specialem, nec hujus nec illius. Nec posse, nec debere quenquam vere fidelem certò credere peccata sua esse sibi remissa.* 6. *Quod ad eos attinet, qui non servantur, peccatum esse veram, propriam, et primam causam reprobationis.* Being summoned before the vice-chancellor, and threatened with punishment, he was induced to make a public retractation, but more, it is said, for the sake of his own quiet than from a conviction of error. He had said in his sermon, "As for those that are not saved, I do most strongly believe, and do freely protest, that I am so persuaded against Calvin, Peter Martyr, and the rest, that sin is the true, proper and first cause of reprobation." Acknowledging that he had thus spoken, he adds, "But now being better instructed, I say, that the reprobation of the wicked is from everlasting, and that the saying of Augustine to Simplician is most true, viz., If sin were the cause of reprobation, then no man should be elected, because God doth foreknow all men to be defiled with it; and, that I may speak freely, I am of the same mind, and do believe concerning the doctrine of election and reprobation, as the Church of England believeth and teacheth in the book of the articles of faith, in the article of predestination." Then humbly apologizing for what he had said of Calvin, Bezer, &c., he concludes, "I am, therefore, very sorry and grieved for this most grievous offence which I have publicly given to this most famous university, which is the temple of religion and sacred receptacle of piety."—Fuller's History of the University of Cambridge, p. 150. Life of Whitgift: Records and Originals, b. iv, n. xxii.

predestination unto life, is not the divine prescience of faith, or of perseverance, or of good works, or of any other commendable quality in the person predestinated, but only the good will and pleasure of God :” Thirdly, “ The number of the predestinate is fixed and pre-ordained, and can be neither increased nor lessened :” Fourthly, “ Those who are not predestinated to salvation shall be, necessarily or inevitably, damned for their sins :” Fifthly, “ A true, lively and justifying faith, and the operation of justifying grace, is not extinguished. It neither fails, nor goes off, in the elect, finally or totally :” Sixthly, “ A man truly said to be one of the faithful, that is, one furnished with justifying faith, has a full assurance and certainty of the remission of his sins, and of his everlasting salvation by Christ :” Seventhly, “ Saving grace is not given or communicated to all men ; that is, they have not such a measure of divine assistance as may enable them to be saved if they will :” Eighthly, “ No person can come to Christ unless it be given unto him, and unless the Father shall draw him ; but all men are not drawn by the Father that they may come to the Son :” Ninthly, “ It is not in every one’s will and power to be saved.”

No part of Whitgift’s proceedings is so difficult to be explained as his share in the drawing up of these articles. However great his legitimate authority, it evidently did not extend to the power of making articles for the Church itself, or even for his own diocese, or the university.* That he did not pretend to such authority we learn from his own lips. The queen, justly offended at the affair, insisted on the annulling of the declaration which he had signed ; and he then stated, that it was but with the wish to allay some disputes at Cambridge that he had adopted the obnoxious measure.†

* The archbishop was not pleased with the proceedings against Barret : they were too hasty, and in other respects objectionable. Dr. Saravia drew up an excellent paper, embodying the principal points of objection to the forced retraction of Barret. *Life and Acts of Whitgift*, vol. II., p. 239 ; *Records and Originals*, b. iv., n. xxiv.

† *Life and Acts*, vol. II., p. 281. The archbishop, it seems, had no wish to have the articles made known to the queen. Dr. Whittaker, however, had communicated them to the lord treasurer, and the latter, it is supposed, to her majesty.

But though this sufficed to save him from the threatened *præmunire*, it did not exempt him from the severe remarks of many of the high churchmen, who regarded the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination as the badge of puritanism. This was so far the case, that the contrary doctrine was always imagined to be a remnant of Romanism, or as calculated to lead directly to the support of its worst features. It is an unhappy circumstance, and thoughtful men readily perceive its existence, that enthusiastic minds are generally weak, that is, not as compared with vulgar intellects, but weak as to the responsibilities which they boldly encounter. Thus one of the few divines who thought it their duty to preach against the strong Calvinistic doctrines now prevalent at Cambridge, was no sooner subjected to annoyance than he allowed his earnestness to degenerate into violence, and at length, wrought upon by his dislike to the view of election favoured in his Church, passed angrily over to the side of the Romanists.*

This occurrence, and the known combination, in many instances, of attachment to the highest Church principles with dislike to the predestinarian views, tended in no slight degree to fix the attention of persons in power on the disputed questions. Elizabeth appears to have temporized throughout. Whitgift had yielded too much; but she did not wish the Calvinistic party to be vexed into hotter controversy; when, therefore, Dr. Baro† the Margaret professor of divinity at Cambridge, uttered sentiments directly opposed to their views, she allowed him to be exposed to every annoyance which it was in the power of the university authorities to inflict. He had asserted in one of his discourses, that "God created all men according to his own likeness, in Adam, and consequently to eternal life, from which he rejects no man but on account of his sins. That Christ died for all mankind, and was a propitiation for the sins of

* Neal, vol. i., p. 453. Barret, before alluded to, a fellow of Caius. Neal calls him a conceited youth; nor was he undeserving of rebuke, if it be true that he treated with contempt the venerable names of Calvin, Bezer, Zanchius, &c. &c.

† Peter Baro was a French Protestant, and having fled to this country was appointed, through the influence of the lord treasurer, Lady Margaret's professor in 1575. *Annals of the Reformation*, vol. ii. part. i., p. 568.

the whole world, original and actual : the remedy provided by him being as extensive as the ruins of the fall : that the promises of eternal life made to us in Christ, are to be generally and universally taken and understood, being made as much to Judas as to Peter." The efforts used to remove him did not at once succeed ; but he was eventually obliged to resign his professorship ; and that he did so in obedience to the will of a faction, rather than as compelled by any just considerations, is plain from the respect shown to his memory. At the express desire of the bishop of London, his pall was supported by six doctors of divinity ; and the chancellor in writing to the university on the manner in which he had been treated, complained that he had been questioned like a thief, and that the whole had proceeded from faction and malice.

The Lambeth Articles were set aside by the queen's authority ; but an advantage had been gained by the party supporting the principles they inculcated, which no subsequent measure was likely to destroy. From this time the puritans continued to acquire successive triumphs, not of that kind which strike common attention, but such as in due time are sure to exhibit the force of principles established long before, and suffered to work unseen till the time arrive for their open development. Cartwright had obtained permission to return to his situation at Warwick, and others, known as his firmest associates, were liberated from prison. But though the severity practised against the puritans became less as Elizabeth's reign drew to a close, it was not from the growth of more enlightened views on the subject of religious toleration : this was well understood by the party in opposition, and it accordingly retained all the bitterness of feeling engendered by its early sufferings. The case of Udal was remembered with no diminution of horror. There was still remaining the inscription written on the coffin of Rippon, a puritan, who died in Newgate :—"This is the corpse of Roger Rippon, a servant of Christ and her majesty's faithful subject, who is the last of sixteen or seventeen which that great enemy of God, the archbishop of Canterbury, with

his high commissioners, have murdered in Newgate within these five years, manifestly for the testimony of Jesus Christ: his soul is now with the Lord, and his blood cried for speedy vengeance against that great enemy of the saints, and against Mr. Richard Young, who in this, and many the like points, hath abused his power for the upholding of the Romish antichrist, prelacy and priesthood."* Nor was it yet forgotten, that it had been said of the commissioners by one suffering at their hands, "These bloody men will allow us neither meat, drink, fire, lodging, nor suffer any whose hearts the Lord would stir up for our relief to have access to us, by which means seventeen or eighteen have perished in the noisome gaols within these ten years. Some of us had not one penny about us when we were sent to prison, nor any thing to procure a maintenance for ourselves and families but our handy labour and trades, by which means not only we ourselves, but our families and children, are undone and starved. Their unbridled slander, their lawless privy searches, their violent breaking open houses, their taking away whatever they think meet, and their barbarous usage of women, children, &c., we are forced to omit lest we be tedious. That which we crave for us all is the liberty to die openly, or live openly in the land of our nativity. If we deserve death, let us not be closely murdered, yea, starved to death with hunger and cold, and stifled in loathsome dungeons."

Unhappily for both parties there were men among them who could tolerate in neither sense of the word. Many, on the one side, viewed every defection, and of the slightest kind, from Christian severity, in the fierce glare of their zeal; and others, on the contrary side, regarded every expression of sudden intemperate passion, as destined to prove the ruin of the Church and monarchy. Hence the former were perpetually furnishing fresh provocatives to persecution, while the latter were as earnestly engaged in magnifying the dangers which apparently arose from allowing such men to exist. It is weak and absurd to suppose,

* Neal, vol. i., p. 431.

that the leaders of parties can love each other, unless indeed in such a refined sense of the expression that to ordinary understandings it must mean nothing; but it can never be necessary, even in the fiercest controversy, that they should hate each other, or determine on mutual destruction. It is, however, a lamentable fact, that the heads of our Church were many of them, at the period described, more than ready to silence their opponents by the strength of the civil power. Having found themselves unsatisfied at the results attending their own ecclesiastical censures, they favoured every ingenious refinement of the law which offered the least chance in their favour. Thus the prisons were filled with sufferers accused of some offence against the state, but only guilty in reality of opposing the Church. The indignation inspired by the wrongs first endured, drove many to actual guilt, and they soon lost the loyalty which originally was not found incompatible with disaffection to the establishment. As the persecution increased, the estrangement became more obvious, and some of the party eagerly pressed forward to denounce the government. The burning sense of injury could no longer be controlled; it drove on to madness men who had been bred to the most peaceful employments; whose thoughts had hitherto been devoted to the humblest offices in the Church of Christ; and who in their most fervent dreams and aspirations, if any they had, never looked beyond the probability of being called to more abundant labours in the ministry. One assuredly of the heaviest crimes for which persecutors will be called into judgment is this of perverting the character of their victims; of poisoning their nature, and depriving it of whatever was most worthy of esteem. We know full well, that there are men who only become stronger and better the more they are tried; but such characters, while they are always rare, are generally least of all to be met with in times like those of which we are speaking. There are many different kinds of persecution; that to which the puritans were subjected was far more calculated to bring into action the pride, and other passions, of the sufferers,

than to afford instances of noble resignation and Christian heroism.

Of those who fell victims to their own intemperance, and to the jealousy of the government, one of the most pitied was a Welsh clergyman, named Penry.* This unfortunate man had studied at both universities, and was known as a powerful preacher. The religious condition of the people in Wales deeply affected him; and he issued a pamphlet entitled a "View of such public Wants and Disorders as are in Her Majesty's Country of Wales, with an humble Petition to the High Court of Parliament for their Redress." Soon after this appeared his "Exhortation to the Governors and People of Her Majesty's Country of Wales to labour earnestly to have the Preaching of the Gospel planted among them." The tone of these papers, with the general style of his preaching, was sufficient to awaken suspicion against him; and when the government found it necessary to take measures to suppress the seditious writings now daily increasing, Penry was among the persons ordered to be apprehended. Being warned of his danger, he escaped into Scotland; but he did not learn in his retirement to view things with a soberer spirit: instead of acquiring new strength to tolerate that which, though offensive, would, if borne, have left him and others perfectly free to preach the gospel, he blindly yielded to his passion, and preferred committing the sin of sedition to bearing with things in themselves formal and indifferent.

During his stay in Scotland he drew up a paper containing the principal reasons by which he justified to himself the course he had adopted. On this he founded the heads of a petition to the queen; and armed, as he weakly supposed, with arguments of sufficient force to procure attention and indulgence, he ventured to return to England. Scarcely, however, had he reached Stepney when the clergyman of the parish being informed of his arrival, sent word to the authorities, and he was immediately apprehended.

* Life and Acts, vol. II., p. 42; Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. I., p. 437.

The haste of the proceedings instituted against him takes from them even the appearance of charity and leniency. This peculiar severity in his case can only be accounted for by the nature of the statements contained in the papers above alluded to. But they were little more than rough hints for some composition in which their character might have been altogether altered. "The cause," said he in his letter to the lord treasurer, "is most lamentable, that the private observations of any student being in a foreign land, and wishing well to his prince and country, should bring his life with blood to a violent end ; especially seeing they are most private and so imperfect, as they have no coherence at all in them, and in most places carry no true English."

From some of the heads of the petition we may easily learn the prominent opinions of Penry and men of his class, and the reasons which the government had for peculiar severity in particular instances. Thus addressing the queen, he says, "The last days of your reign are turned rather against Jesus Christ and his gospel, than to the maintenance of the same ; I have great cause and complaint, madam : nay, the Lord and his Church have cause to complain of your government, because we, your subjects, this day, are not permitted to serve our God under your government according to his Word, but are sold to be bond-slaves, not only to our affections, to do what we will, so that we keep ourselves within the compass of established civil laws, but also to be servants to the man of sin, and his ordinances." And yet more plainly : "Among the rest of the princes under the gospel, that have been drawn to oppose it, you must think yourself to be one ; for until you see this, madam, you see not yourself, and they are but sycophants and flatterers whoever tell you otherwise : your standing is, and has been, by the gospel ; it is little beholden to you for any thing that appears ; the practice of your government shews, that if you could have ruled without the gospel, it would have been doubtful whether the gospel should be established or not ; for now that you are established in your throne by

the gospel, you suffer it to reach no further than the end of your sceptre limiteth unto it. If we had Queen Mary's days, I think we should have had as flourishing a church this day as ever any; for it is well known that there was then in London, under the burden, and elsewhere in exile, more flourishing churches than any now tolerated by your authority."

Again: "If we cannot have your favour but by omitting our duty to God, we are unworthy of it, and by God's grace we mean not to purchase it so dear; but, madam, thus much we must needs say, that in all likelihood, if the days of your sister, Queen Mary, and her persecution, had continued unto this day, that the Church of God in England had been far more flourishing than at this day it is: for then, madam, the Church of God within this land and elsewhere, being strangers, enjoyed the ordinances of God's holy Word as far as then they saw; but since your majesty came unto your crown, we have had whole Christ Jesus, God and man, but we must serve him only in heart. And if those days had continued to this time, and those lights risen therein which by the mercy of God have since shined in England, it is not to be doubted but the Church of England, even in England, had far surpassed all the reformed churches in the world. Then, madam, any of our brethren durst not have been seen within the tents of antichrist: now they are ready to defend them to be the Lord's, and that he has no other tabernacle upon earth but them. Our brethren then durst not temporize in the cause of God, because the Lord himself ruled in his Church, by his own laws, in a good measure: but now, behold! they may do what they will, for any sword that the Church has to draw against them, if they contain themselves within your laws. This peace, under these conditions, we cannot enjoy; and, therefore, for any thing I can see, Queen Mary's days will be set up again, or we must needs temporize. The whole truth we must not speak; the whole truth we must not profess. Your state must

have a stroke above the truth of God. Now, madam, your majesty may consider what good the Church of God hath taken at your hands, even outward peace, with the absence of Jesus Christ in his ordinance; otherwise, as great troubles are likely to come as ever were in the days of your sister. As for the council and clergy, if we bring any such suit unto them, we have no other answer but that which Pharaoh gives to the Lord's messengers, touching the state of the Church under his government. For when any are called for this cause before your council, or the judges of the land, they must take this for granted, once for all, that the uprightness of their cause will profit them nothing if the law of the land be against them; for your council and judges have so well profited in religion, that they will not stick to say, that they come not to consult whether the matter be with or against the word, or not, but their purpose is, to take the penalty of the transgressions against your laws. If your council were wise, they would not kindle your wrath against us; but, madam, if you give ear to their words, no marvel though you have no better counsellors." *

That there was much, both weak and false, in these statements, and, on the other hand, little of a definite character, was of no avail to the unfortunate accused. His judges set aside any mention of such of his writings as had been printed, and tried him solely on the memoranda found among his papers. Many of these he asserted were not expressive of his own opinions; but were set down as those of persons in Scotland, and recorded for the purpose of future examination. Considerations of this kind, however, had no influence with his judges. Sentence of death was passed upon him, and almost immediately executed. It has been said that the terror excited by this proceeding tended greatly to the silencing of the puritans. For the moment probably it did; but general experience, and in this case the known facts of history, show plainly that the spirit of party was not to be overcome by such inflictions.

* Neal, vol. i., p. 438. Life and Acts, vol. i., p. 565; vol. ii., p. 175.

Even the Brownists, who saw Hacket, the most miserable of fanatics, perish on the gallows, continued long after to exist as a sect; and the puritans, as might have been expected, numbered Penry among the martyrs of Christ. In the preface to a pamphlet published shortly after his death, and said to have been written by him, he is described as "a godly man; learned, zealous, and of a most Christian carriage and courage:" and further, "that being used by God for a special instrument in the manifestation of his truth, he was hardly entreated, imprisoned, condemned and executed, and so suffered martyrdom for the name of Christ." *

The accession of James I. introduced a new era in the religious affairs of England. Great things were expected of him by both parties. On the one side, the constitution and policy of the Church were in accordance with his views and interests; on the other, there were considerations of by no means a superficial character, which tended to make him somewhat more than tolerant of the puritans and their allies. We learn much from the events which occurred immediately after his accession. A petition, nominally from a thousand puritan divines, had directed his attention to the controversy, and he made no attempt to conceal the fact, that as a man of letters as well as a sovereign, he felt deeply interested in the questions it involved.

Instead, therefore, of leaving the petitioners to his ministers, or answering them in the common phraseology of state authority, he invited the chiefs of their party to a conference. This celebrated meeting took place at Hampton Court, in June 1603. The commissioners, on the side of the Church, were the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, Worcester, St. David's, Chichester, Carlisle, and Peterborough; the dean of the Chapel Royal, the deans of Westminster, Christ Church, St. Paul's, Worcester, Salisbury, Chester and Windsor, Dr. King and Dr. Field. On the part of the puritans appeared Dr. John Reynolds and Dr. Thomas Sparke, both from Oxford;

* Collier, vol. vii., part ii., b. vii., p. 172.

and Mr. Chadderton and Mr. Knewstubbs from Cambridge.*

The king himself presided, and opened the business of the conference in a speech remarkable for good sense and piety. He then stated that he required satisfaction on points which he would arrange under three general heads; and first, in respect of the Book of Common Prayer; he remarked on confirmation that "he scrupled the term, for that it imported a confirming of baptism, as if this sacrament was insignificant without it. There was blasphemy in the name, then; for though the antient custom was defensible, that infants answering by their godfathers should be examined when they came to years of discretion; that after having owned the engagement made for them at the font, they should be confirmed with the bishop's blessing and imposition of hands; yet, that the raising of this usage to a sacrament, and ascribing to it the power of giving any force to baptism, was an abuse which ought to be abhorred."

In the next place, he objected, that absolution in the Church of England had been described to him as resembling the pardons granted by the pope; whereas, in his opinion, God has given a commission to absolve only in two cases; the one general, the other particular. As to the former, he conceived that all prayer and preaching imported an absolution; as to the latter, "it was to be applied to those who had repented of scandalous crimes; otherwise, where the person is neither excommunicated nor under penance, there was no necessity of his being absolved."

Private baptism was the next topic; and while the king spoke strongly against the administration of the sacrament by women or laymen, he made a distinction not commonly brought under notice: "If the baptism," he said, "was private, with reference to place only, he thought it not inconsistent with the practice of the primitive church, but if with reference to the person, he disliked it to the last degree."

* The whole of these persons were nominated by James himself; a circumstance which formed the ground of strong exceptions on the part of the puritans to the issue of the conference.

Under the second head were ranged certain questions respecting excommunication. James intimated that he feared the censure might be administered upon occasions too light to warrant its infliction; that it ought not to be intrusted to lay-chancellors and commissaries; and that the bishops would do well to accept the assistance of the dean and chapter, or other clergymen of respectability, whose concurrence in the proceeding would add greatly to its weight and solemnity.

A provision for Ireland formed the third head of discussion, but this was considered not so proper a matter for the conference at its present stage. The archbishop, therefore, addressed himself at once to the objections made by the king to the practices alluded to. He was supported by the other representatives of the Church, and James proved himself a willing listener to their arguments and explanations. Another temper was manifested in the discussion with the puritan divines; and unless every account which we have of the proceedings be utterly untrue, the weakness of their objections to the practices of the Church would have shown itself far more directly and obviously, had there been less impatience and ill-humour on the part of those who felt they were to gain the day.

Dr. Reynolds, who headed the party, offered a remonstrance on the side of the puritans, consisting of four demands. "First, That the doctrine of the Church might be preserved in its purity, according to God's Word: Secondly, That good pastors might be planted in all churches to preach the same: Thirdly, That the church government might be sincerely ministered according to God's Word; and, Fourthly, That the Book of Common Prayer might be fitted to more increase of piety."

Illustrating his first demand by an appeal to the Articles, he desired that the words in the Sixteenth, "After we have received the Holy Ghost we may depart from grace," might be immediately followed by these: "yet neither totally nor finally;" and that they might be further illustrated by the introduction of the whole of the Articles drawn up at Lambeth. This and

some other parts of his remonstrance were allowed to be made without interruption ; but he had scarcely introduced the subject of confirmation, and intimated that some inconsistency existed between the Collects in the service and the Twenty-fifth Article, when the bishop of London could no longer repress his feelings, but falling on his knees before the king, reminded his majesty of the canon, *Schismatici contra episcopos non sunt audiendi* ; and further, that men who had subscribed the Articles ought not to be permitted to reason against them.

James had the good sense to see, that if the bishop's request were granted, it would have been better not to allow or dream of a conference. But though he could discern thus much, he had not sufficient sense of propriety to silence the rude raillery of his courtiers, or to teach the powerful party which surrounded him, that their opponents, wanting every advantage which they themselves possessed should, at all events, have received fair and honourable treatment. He closed his observations with the memorable axiom, "No bishop, no king;" and it was felt that however little the prelates might care to accept this as a fitting argument in defence of episcopal confirmation, it would be vain to discuss the matter with such an opponent.

Perhaps the most striking part of the discussion, in which Dr. Reynolds took the lead, was that in which he spoke of pluralities, and pressed the necessity of furnishing all parishes with preaching ministers. Bancroft, on hearing this, again fell on his knees, and petitioned his majesty that all parishes might have a praying ministry, for that preaching was grown so much in fashion that the service of the Church was neglected. He added that "pulpit harangues were very dangerous," and that, therefore, "the number of homilies should be increased, and the clergy compelled to read them instead of sermons, in which they vented their spleen against their superiors." The king, turning to Reynolds and his associates, inquired what they thought of this sentiment. They answered, that a preaching minister was certainly best and most useful, but ac-

knowledgeed that "where preaching could not be had, godly prayers, homilies and exhortations might do much good."*

The feelings of the disputants grew evidently warmer the further they considered the subjects proposed for examination. Ceremonies of the most innocent kind, were attacked by the puritans with a zeal which might have led men to suppose, that they were struggling for some fundamental doctrine of the gospel. But if this might fairly be objected to the puritans, it might, with equal propriety, be urged, that the Church insisted on conformity in respect to such things with as much apparent earnestness as it demanded agreement in prayer and doctrine. The argument of one of the puritans, that the ceremonies spoken of were at best but indifferent, and that, therefore, it might be doubted "whether the power of the Church could bind the conscience without impeaching Christian liberty," was deserving of the most serious attention. His majesty, however, having repeated the popular arguments on the subject, summed up his remarks with a declaration, which ought to have convinced the puritans at once, of the uselessness of their plea. "As to the power of the Church in things indifferent," he said, "I will not argue that point with you, but answer as kings in parliament, *Le Roi s'avisera*. It is like," he added, by way of illustration, "Mr. John Black, a beardless boy, who told me, the last conference in Scotland, that he would hold conformity with me in doctrine, but that every man, as to ceremonies, was to be left to his own liberty; but I will have none of that. I will have one doctrine, one discipline, one religion in substance and ceremony: never speak more to that point, how far you are bound to obey."

This, however, did not sufficiently subdue the spirits of the doctor to prevent his urging his complaints or demands. After other points of less importance, he arrived at the subject of prophesyings and diocesan synods, topics on which James was peculiarly sensitive, and not attempting to repress his indignation, he ex-

* Neal, vol. II., p. 14; Collier, vol. VII., p. 280.

claimed, that he saw well their intention, and that they were endeavouring to establish a Scots presbytery, "which," he continued, "agrees with monarchy as well as God and the devil. Then Jack and Tom, Will and Dick shall meet, and, at their pleasure, censure both me and my council. Therefore, pray stay one seven years before you demand that of me, and if then you find me pursy and fat and my windpipe stuffed, I shall, perhaps, hearken to you ; for let that government be up, and I am sure I shall be kept in breath : but till you find I grow lazy, pray let that alone. I remember how they used the poor lady, my mother, in Scotland, and me in my minority." Turning to the bishops, and touching his hat, he said, "My lords, I may thank you that these puritans plead for my supremacy, for if once you are out, and they in place, I know what would become of my supremacy ; for, no bishop, no king." Then addressing the other side, he said, "Well, doctor, have you any thing else to offer ?" The answer being in the negative, his majesty is reported to have said, "If this be all your party have to say, I will make them conform, or I will hurry them out of this land, or else worse." *

It seems evident, from the general tenour of the conference, that the puritans were furnished with arguments against the Church far less weighty than might have been expected. One cannot help feeling that there was much to justify the remark of James, who, when Mr. Knewstubbs spoke of the weak brethren, asked him, how long they intended to be weak, and whether five-and-forty years was not long enough for them to get strength in ; adding, that subscription was not required of laics or idiots, but only of the clergy, who, it might be hoped, did not need to be dieted with milk, but were in a condition to feed others. "It is to be feared, however," he proceeded, "that some of them are strong enough, if not headstrong ; and that, how much soever they may plead their weakness upon this occasion, several of them think themselves able to instruct me, and all the bishops in the kingdom." †

The sentiment expressed in this observation was re-

* Neal, vol. II., p. 17.

† Collier, vol. VII., part II., b. VIII., p. 291.

peated in the proclamation published shortly after the conference. In this, it is said, "that some of those who misliked the state of religion here established, transported with humour, began such proceedings as did rather raise a scandal in the Church than take offence away; that they both used forms of public serving God not here allowed; held assemblies with authority, and other things carrying a very apparent show of sedition more than of zeal: that the success of the conference was such as happens to many other things which give great expectation before they are closely examined: that the king found strong remonstrances supported with such slender proofs, that both himself and his council perceived there was no ground for any change in those things which were most loudly clamoured against: that the Book of Common Prayer, and the doctrine of the Established Church, were both unexceptionable; and, as to the rites and ceremonies, they had the practice of the primitive Church to plead in their defence; and, lastly, that notwithstanding, with the consent of the bishops, and other learned men, some passages were rather explained than altered, yet, with a reasonable construction, every thing might very well have stood in its former condition."

It was openly confessed by the puritans themselves, that their cause was supported in the conference with but little success. They objected, indeed, to the report given of the proceedings, and questioned its fidelity; but acknowledged that their chief advocate, Dr. Reynolds, fell below himself, being overawed by the place and company, and the arbitrary dictates of his sovereign opponent. As a party, therefore, they refused their assent to the conclusions arrived at in the meeting, and this, First, "Because the ministers appointed to speak for them were not of their nomination or choosing, nor of one judgment in the points of controversy; for being desired by their brethren to argue against the corruptions of the Church as simply evil, they replied they were not so persuaded. Being further desired to acquaint the king that some of their brethren thought them sinful, they refused that also. Lastly: Being de-

sired to give their reasons in writing why they thought the ceremonies only indifferent, or to answer the reasons they had to offer to prove them sinful, they would do neither one nor other." Secondly, "Because the points in controversy were not thoroughly debated, but nakedly propounded, and some not at all touched; neither was there any one argument to the purpose pursued and followed." Thirdly, "Because the prelates took the liberty of interrupting at their pleasure those of the other side, insomuch that they were checked for it by the king himself." *

The alterations insisted upon by the puritans as regarded the Prayer-book; the liberty which they demanded in the performance of the services of the Church, would, if granted, have led to a confusion fatal alike to order and tranquillity. Some slight corrections were wisely admitted, and, above all, a ready and zealous attention was given by the king to the desire for a new translation of the Bible. The friends of religion, not strongly influenced by party feelings, and really regarding many of the points disputed with most heat as things indifferent, were thankful for the prospect afforded of a closer attention being paid to objects confessedly most important. Much of the success which James enjoyed may be ascribed to this. It is not to be supposed that his orders and proclamations would have been so quietly submitted to had they been merely supported by the few bishops that surrounded him at the conference. There was an evident readiness in him to promote intelligence in the country on the main subjects of religion. This counterbalanced the jealousy which many of his measures were calculated to excite. But the jealousy existed, and there were men, in the Church itself, who confessed, that they could not sympathize altogether with those who taught the monarch, that he was free to measure all men's consciences by the same standard: Dr. Rudd, bishop of St. David's, was one of these. Speaking in the House of Lords, and alluding to the disputes on the sign of the cross, he said, "I wish that if the king's highness shall persist

* Neal, vol. II., p. 19.

in imposing it, all would submit to it as we do, rather than forego the ministry in that behalf. But I greatly fear by the report which I hear, that very many learned preachers whose consciences are not in our custody, nor to be disposed of at our devotion, will not easily be drawn thereunto; of which number, if any shall come in my walk, I desire to be furnished beforehand by those that be present, with sufficient reasons to satisfy them, if it be possible, concerning some points which have been now delivered."

Following up this reasoning, he asks, what he should answer those who objected to the passages alleged in defence of the sign of the cross, that they were figurative, and then makes an allusion to the conference, which seems to intimate, that it was not conducted altogether in a manner acceptable, even to the prelates themselves. The argument of which the bishop spoke was that drawn from the example of Hezekiah, and which he confesses was not answered in the conference, fairly or completely. "Hereunto," he adds, "I say that I was one of the conference, yet I was not at that part of the conference where those that stood for reformation had access to the king's majesty's presence, and liberty to speak for themselves; for that I, and some other of my brethren, the bishops, were secluded from that day's assembly; but I suppose it to be true as it has formerly been reported, and I for my own particular admit the consequence. Now, because I wish all others abroad as well satisfied herein as ourselves that we were present, if any of the contrary opinion shall come to me, and say, that the aforesaid answer does not satisfy them, because there is as great reason now to move them to become petitioners to his majesty for abolishing the cross in baptism, as there was to move the godly zealous in Hezekiah's time to be petitioners for defacing the brazen serpent, because the church-going papists now among us do superstitiously abuse the one as the Israelites did the other, what sound answer shall I make to them for their better satisfaction?"

Yet further; and it is plain from the language of the estimable prelate, how deeply he was imbued with

evangelical sentiments: "Whereas it has been this day alleged," he says, "that it is convenient and necessary to preserve the memory of the cross of Christ by this means; if haply any of the other side shall come to me and say, that the memory of the cross of Christ might be sufficiently, and more safely, preserved by preaching the doctrine of the gospel, the sum whereof is 'Christ crucified,' which was so lively preached to the Galatians, as if his bodily image had been crucified among them, and yet we know not of any material or signal cross that was in use in the Church at that time: I desire to know, what satisfaction or answer must be given to them?"

It was manifest, we may presume, from the very expression of countenance among his auditors, that no pleasant feelings were produced by these inquiries. His lordship therefore added, "I protest that all my speeches now are uttered by way of proposition, not by way of opposition, and that they all tend to work pacification in the Church. For I put great difference between what is lawful and what is expedient, and between them that are schismatical and them that are scrupulous only upon some ceremonies, being otherwise learned, studious, grave and honest men."

The bishop of London, and some other of the prelates, successively rose to answer their brother of St. David's. It might have been supposed that his high station, and the common privileges of the place where he spoke, would have obtained a patient attention to his reply; but the president, it is said, forbade his continuing the debate, and he quietly yielded, observing, "that as nothing was dearer to him than the peace of the Church, he was determined to use the best means he could to draw others to unity and conformity with himself, and the rest of his brethren."

It was well for the Church that there were many of its members at this time of a temper so sober and thoughtful. At no period were such men more needed. Though not in the most conspicuous positions, they exercised an influence on both parties, teaching the one to decide with moderation, and the other to forbear

from those acts of violence which, if pursued, must have involved the whole system in a long and fearful bondage. The bishop of St. David's, it is plain, was treated in a manner neither becoming his station, nor calculated to convince the opponents of the Church that its mere friends were ready to use arguments of charity.

Whitgift was taken ill shortly after the conference; but he persevered in the performance of his weighty duties till a stroke of the palsy deprived him of speech and of the use of his right side. This affliction is supposed to have been brought on by his close attention to public affairs, and an increasing anxiety respecting the state of the Church. The fit occurred after a long discourse with the king and the bishop of London, at Whitehall. James manifested the high esteem which he had for his character by shortly after visiting him at Lambeth, and affectionately assuring him that "he would pray to God for his life; and that if he could obtain it, he should think it one of the greatest temporal blessings that could be given him." The dying prelate endeavoured in vain to address the king, but raising his eyes and hands to heaven, he solemnly exclaimed, *Pro Ecclesia Dei*. He expired the next day,* calm and self-possessed, and apparently enjoying the peace which the grace of God, and a deep consciousness of having sought his glory and the good of his Church, might be expected to bestow. Suspicions were generally entertained that his end was accelerated by the apprehension of approaching changes. Thus it is said, "that when the king began to contend about the common prayer received, and judged some things therein fit to be altered, the archbishop died with grief;" and also that on his death-bed he uttered these words, "And now, O Lord, my soul is lifted up, that I die in a time wherein I had rather give up to God an account of my bishopric, than any longer to exercise it among men."†

Many testimonies to the worth and piety of Whitgift are on record. The shortest and the best perhaps is Fuller's, which pronounces him "one of the worthiest men that ever the English hierarchy did enjoy:" such were the difficulties indeed with which he had to con-

* Feb. 29, 1604.

† Life and Acts, vol. II., p. 507.

tend, that however responsible he rendered himself for some instances of severity and persecution, it is cause of admiration that he resisted temptations to which his successors so easily yielded. Evils without number might have been spared the Church and people of this country had Laud possessed the same virtues and qualities as Whitgift. Bancroft was his immediate successor, a man in many respects his inferior, but enjoying the advantage of what he had done, and not living long enough to have his ability or fortitude put to the severest test.*

Bancroft adopted his predecessor's views, but abridged the maxims of moderation which had frequently softened the application of his severer principles. Whitgift, suspected as he had been, left a name without reproach: even his enemies were obliged to confess his worth and integrity. It was felt that he had steered between rocks upon which a man wanting in virtue or wisdom must have made shipwreck. Bancroft lived a season later, and this had an important effect upon men's estimation of his conduct. He had not the same familiarity with Cartwright, Travers, and other leaders of the puritans. Whitgift openly confessed the influence which his old college recollections had upon his mind; and though he would sacrifice no principle to his feelings, he proclaimed by his conduct, as other good men have done, that he was ready to sacrifice feelings to feelings, and prejudices to prejudices.

One of the first measures of the new archbishop was the introduction of a body of canons†. For this he

* Book x., sec. 2, p. 25. The acknowledgment of Neal, coming as it does from so bitter an opponent, is a yet stronger eulogy: "Though he was a cruel persecutor of the puritans, yet, compared with his successor Bancroft, he was a valuable prelate."—Hist. of Puritans, vol. II., p. 23.

† "He had the sole management of the convocation of the same year also, in which he passed that excellent body of *canons and constitutions ecclesiastical* to serve for a perpetual standing rule to the Church of England. Succeeding Whitgift in the see of Canterbury, he resolved to put the *canons* into execution, and pressed it with so stout a courage, that few had confidence enough to stand out against him. Some of them did, and those he either deprived or silenced, and thereby terrified the rest to an open conformity. They saw too plainly that they must not dally with his patience, as they did with Whitgift's, and that he was resolved to *break* them if they would not *bow*; and they did wisely in so bowing; for who could stand against a man of such a spirit, armed with authority, having the law on his side, and the king to friend?"—Heylyn, Cyprian. Anglic., lib. i., p. 58.

pleaded the authority given him by the king. There can be little doubt that the new position of the Church rendered many fresh regulations necessary. It will, however, be questioned, whether the time was wisely chosen for the introduction of rules such as those now brought in. Violent jealousy existed against the Church. The interference of the secular power was evident and confessed; and there was, at all events, not that perfect agreement between the Church and the nation which would have assured the former of success, had it made a direct and unreserved appeal.

The archbishop gave the first formal announcement of his intention to introduce the canons alluded to, by proclaiming, that the king had conferred upon him the authority to make such laws for the Church as the times rendered necessary. It was not every division, even of the high Church party, that could view with perfect satisfaction a measure of this kind; much less was it possible for those who had expected the accession of James as an era of emancipation, to contemplate the proceeding with even tolerable temper. A new, though not altogether open, impulse was thus again given to the puritan cause. Churchmen, who apprehended fresh aggressions on their liberty, felt every day more inclined to seek refuge with the separatists, and the first actual disgust that they experienced drove them into their ranks. The canons were needed to correct many disorders which existed in the practice of the Church. Its friends were so far convinced of this, that both houses of convocation gave a ready assent to their introduction. James signified his approbation of their character by allowing them to pass under the great seal; and had there been less at the time of angry disputation, this act of the monarch would have been accepted as a good proof of his zeal for the religious interests of his people.

The objection early urged, and ever since pressed, against the authority of these canons, could never possess the smallest weight with sincere members of the Church. On the contrary, it tends rather to increase their respect for them, and to prove the necessity of a cordial affection for the Church, on the part of those who in any

wise acknowledge its sacred origin. The canons were not ratified by parliament; they became not, therefore, it is concluded, the law of the land. But even here many persons will restrict the inference, and content themselves with saying, that they did not become the law of the land in the same way as other rules commonly so called. If, however, in no sense they became the law of the country, they were made the law of the Church, and the more effectually so, many will consider, because resting on the sanctions of the Church alone, making no appeal to a power beyond itself, and only seeking for the sanction of the monarch, as he is confessed to be the head of the Church, and the defender of its faith.

It would have been in happy conformity with the principles which gave authority to the canons, had the rulers of the Church, at this time, trusted to the intrinsic worth of their institutions, and not exhibited practically a perpetual doubt of their strength or sufficiency. The puritans as they continued to increase in numbers, so they manifested a growing confidence in the independence which they claimed for their synods and congregations. Though having little actual right to such praise, for it was but the force of circumstance which kept them apart from interference, they seemed to possess a superiority to the temporal power which the Church did not. Their synodical assemblies established rules dictated by the severest spirit; but they were patiently submitted to, the authority which imposed them being solely religious. This had considerable influence with many who, though resisting the Church and its canons, had no desire for license in respect either to themselves or others. The leaders of the puritans had too much knowledge of antiquity to think lightly of Church government. Mistakes are easily made in the estimation of their views or motives, through forgetfulness of this important circumstance. They were, many of them, in fact, incomparably more faithful to the spirit of primitive rule than some of those who professed the most ardent loyalty to the Church. Grievous errors were committed by them on

several points; but they were not guilty of the sin and folly of despising the principles which they imagined to be but badly wrought out in the institutions which they opposed. At the time when puritanism began to make its most rapid advances, feelings of affection, as ardent as ever they had been, existed towards catholic antiquity. Churchmen and nonconformists did not till long after separate on the question, whether all was to be old, or all was to be new; except on particular points, the language of the learned and accomplished puritan divine was drawn from the same source as that of the churchman. Cartwright and Travers would have been ashamed to call themselves theologians could they not have proved that the best years of their lives had been devoted to the study of the fathers. The spirit of criticism increased with the growing power of opposition; but the manner of judging, the mould of thought, the form of argument, the feelings of the early puritan, were those which belonged to him equally with the divines who were eminent in the Church for learning and ability. When circumstances allowed it, their conduct proved it, as well as the tone of their writings. Calvin, their great prototype, acted in every respect as any bishop would act who saw the full extent of his responsibilities, and dare not allow the caprices of other men to interfere with his duties. The very first step, therefore, which the puritans took was to form some plan of government to make those who joined them understand that they were to be subject to synods, pastors, elders; in short, that they were not for a moment to imagine that, because they were leaving the Church they were to be set free from all control but that of their own consciences. This served to conciliate the favour of that whole class of men, in the number of whom were found those who inherited the scruples of Hooper, of Fox and others, but who had originally no thought of separation. When they saw a society formed which offered them the privilege of communion, and were reminded every day of the growing difficulties of their position as professed members of the establishment, the church-like order of the former impressed

their minds more and more, and in joining its ranks they soon lost the recollection that they had done so as a matter of necessity, and began to convert their party into a rival with the Church, and to prepare it for a bold and general usurpation.

James and his council were successful in the measures which they adopted for the defence of the establishment as such. But it is the almost invariable consequence of such efforts to support a church against its adversaries, that the immediate interests of practical piety seem for the time neglected. Experience, perhaps, may be effectually cited to prove that this is truly the case. But whether so or not, the reputation of an age in which contests like that alluded to have occurred, is always injured in respect to things on which common regard is more usually fixed. The reign of James, therefore, is not one in which the Church of Christ may be supposed to have gained any of its noblest triumphs in this country. But it was a period during which the establishment acquired more firmness and consistency, and in which its principal members gained far clearer ideas respecting its proper relations both to the state and the people, than had before existed. This was not without beneficial consequences of a more than transitory nature. We still enjoy the good resulting from the calm temper, the plain manly sense with which it then especially began to be the custom of treating of church claims and interests. It was not in ecclesiastical affairs only that this spirit of general inquiry now appeared. The great expounders of English law distinguished themselves in James's reign by their profound erudition, and readiness of practical judgment. Philosophy derived a similar impulse from the inquiring spirit of the times; and the language of Bacon may be taken as an index to the sentiments entertained by the most influential men on all the great topics of the day. James himself was under the power of every popular influence. He shared with the learned in their multifarious acquirements, but not a peasant in the country was more subject to superstitious fears. The conflict between parties and doctrines was carried on in his own mind with as much

warmth and as great variety of success as in the nation at large. Sometimes a practice, or a dogma which the Romanists regarded with highest admiration, would be the subject of his eulogium or decrees; at others the Calvinists would find themselves justified in the hope that, some of their peculiar tenets being adopted, the king would, after all, become a puritan.

The arbitrary tone in which he was accustomed to address the clergy is strikingly contrasted with the signs, which otherwise appeared, of a better understanding of their state and duties. As if the bishops themselves were not properly qualified to instruct the clergy, or to correct them if they violated their duty, James took upon himself to dictate on what subjects they should preach, and on what not; and even in disputed matters, which side they should take. A remarkable illustration of the last-mentioned fact is afforded by his treatment of a Mr. Simpson, one of the fellows of Trinity-college, Cambridge. Having to preach before his majesty at Royston, he took for his text, "That which is born of the flesh is flesh," and proceeded to discuss the question whether the commission of sin be not always attended with a fall from grace. In illustration of his views, he stated that St. Paul, when he reasons on the subject in the seventh chapter to the Romans, does not represent his own case, but that of a person still lying under the yoke of the law. James, it is said, was highly offended at the sentiments of the preacher; and, having expressed his anger, ordered the professors of divinity to give their opinion on the subject. This being done, and their statement being that the argument of the apostle was to be understood of a regenerate man, Mr. Simpson was compelled to make, in the presence of the king and of the congregation, a full recantation of his opinion.

A case of a somewhat similar kind was presented in the harsh treatment of Dr. Mocket,* whose books

* "For which severity, though many just reasons were alleged, yet it was generally conceived, that as the book fared the worse for the author's sake, so the author did not speed the better for his patron, the archbishop's sake, betwixt whom and Dr. James Montague, then bishop of Winchester, there

were publicly burnt, because described as not representing, with due precision, the opinions of the dominant party. But while these insults were offered to members and ministers of the Church, the intolerant spirit of the government showed itself, from time to time, in a far more angry form towards the nonconformists and others. Bancroft pursued his measures with unmitigated severity, and they were so far successful, that a large number of weak unsettled men, who only wanted to be deprived of the power of agitating to become laborious and useful ministers, yielded to the necessity of the times, and ceased from troubling themselves with nice points of controversy. Others, however, were not to be so silenced; and terrible were the sufferings to which many estimable men were unmercifully subjected. It was next to impossible that the Church should be settled, or uniformity, so essential to its usefulness and dignity, be established, without provoking some to resistance, and exposing them, in consequence, to certain penalties. But the Star-chamber and the Church commissioners continued to be animated by feelings which bore at least all the appearance of vindictiveness; and holy, learned, and most eminently valuable men, were not only expelled their livings, but either immured in a prison, or ignominiously driven from their country.

So little notion, indeed, had been formed as yet of any principles of toleration, that in March 1611, Bartholomew Legget, having been accused of Arianism, was carried before the bishop of London; and refusing to recant, was sentenced, according to the writ *de comburendo heretico*, to be burnt in Smithfield, where he suffered with all the horrors of the worst times of Mary. Scarcely a month had passed, when the bishop of Lichfield and Coventry took similar measures with another person, Edward Wightman, who was also burnt at the stake.

had been some differences, which the rest of the court bishops were apt enough to make some use of to his disadvantage."—Heylyn, Cyprian. Anglic., part i., p. 70.

There is little reason for surprise at finding that when such proceedings were authorized by the heads of the Church, the representatives of the people became daily more favourable to the parties which seemed most determined to resist them. Hence the growth of parliamentary power soon became almost identified with that of puritanism. The king unhappily was little awake to the progress of opinion, and spoke openly of his prerogative as if neither the constitution nor the Church, much less the people, had any thing whatever to do with the decision of his will. Ill concealed was the disgust of the judges, when, having entered upon an argument respecting the king's power to grant commendams, they were peremptorily ordered, by a messenger from court, to stop the proceedings. They sent for answer, that compliance with such a command would be contrary to law, and unbecoming their high office. On being summoned before his majesty, they were persuaded, with the exception of Coke, into a show of submission. The great and venerable chief justice of the King's Bench firmly refused to state that he would stay proceedings at the king's call; but coldly remarked, that when the case happened, he would do his duty. Such an occurrence was calculated to make a deep impression on the minds of the most intelligent classes of society, and inferences were doubtless drawn from it, which had no less connection with the affairs of the Church, than with those of law or politics.

It might have been imagined that the discovery of the conspiracies, which had so nearly terminated in the destruction of James and his family, would have prevented him from ever incurring the suspicion of favouring the Romanists. But so far was this from being the case, that he was perpetually accused of showing a tenderness for their views and practices contrasted, in the most striking manner, with his harsh treatment of the puritans. This tended both to alarm and provoke the easily excited multitude, and acted as another of the causes to which the convulsions of a later period may be traced.

The state of affairs in Scotland and Ireland presents another singular feature in the character of these times.

A pious monarch, deeply impressed with the conviction that the Church of this country was complete in all its parts and offices, could not but desire to see the same form of government extended to the Church in every other portion of his dominions. But this feeling was as likely to be produced by political as by religious considerations; and judged of as James was, the latter presented, to a large number of his subjects, the more probable explanation of his proceedings. At first he seems to have thought that nothing more was necessary to restore episcopacy to Scotland than the appointment of certain ministers with the title of bishops. The necessity, however, of their episcopal consecration being generally confessed, Spotswood, archbishop elect of Glasgow, and two others, were sent for to London. An important difficulty, however, now presented itself. None of the bishops elect had received either deacons' or priests' orders, according to the rule of the Church of England, or any other episcopal church. Andrews, bishop of Ely, protested strongly against the inconsistency of admitting men not yet recognized as ministers of the English Church to the highest degree it could confer.* But both Bancroft and Abbot, then bishop of London, overcame his objection; the one urging that the previous ordination of the candidates, as presbyters, was valid; for that where episcopal ordination could not be had, that given by presbyters ought to be admitted. This opinion, it appears, was entertained by the archbishop in friendly regard to the foreign reformed churches. The bishop of London, on the other hand, suggested, that it was not absolutely necessary that orders of any description should precede admission to the episcopate; and he brought forward, in illustration of his position, the well known instances of Ambrose, a civil magistrate, exalted, on a sudden, to the bishopric of Milan; Nectarius, also a layman, made patriarch of Constantinople; and Eucherius, only a monk, consecrated bishop of Lyons.†

* Fuller; Collier; Neal.

† It is disputed which of these arguments was started by this or that prelate. There is more of Abbot's usual tone in that which shows so much desire to uphold the character of the foreign churches. Collier, however, attri-

It was considered that these facts sufficiently removed the difficulty spoken of by the bishop of Ely. The prelates elect were accordingly consecrated, and episcopacy was restored to Scotland.

The state of religion in Ireland had been long a subject of anxiety both to the Church and government. James was in the habit of observing that he was but half a king in that country, the bodies only of the people being subject to him, while their consciences acknowledged the supremacy of the pope. The colonizing of Ulster with English and Scotch families introduced Protestantism into that province under favourable circumstances: but earnest as the new settlers were in the support of religion, their views differed, in some material points, from those of the governing party in England. The learned and pious Usher, then provost of Trinity-college, took the lead in the adjustment of the questions hence arising. Instead, however, of the several discussions ending in the settlement of opinion according to the recognized Articles of the English Church, others were drawn up, and the Lambeth articles made the basis of confession. The agreement between many points in the rule thus brought in, and the general tenour of puritanism, was easily discernible. But no resistance was opposed, on the part of the king, to the adoption of the new articles. They were ratified in his name, and made the rule of the Irish Church, to which a species of liberty and independence was thus accorded, the real origin of which is sought for sometimes in the versatility of the king's own opinions, sometimes in the depth of his political foresight.

On the death of Bancroft, Abbot was advanced to the archbishopric of Canterbury. His character and opinions had little in common with those of the former prelate. The extreme moderation of his sentiments was highly favourable to the puritans; and, under his administration of affairs, the party increased both in power and numbers.* Far too much, however, appears to be butes this to Bancroft; but Neal ascribes it to Abbot.—Collier, vol. vii., p. 362; Neal, vol. ii., p. 76.

* It was said of him, "that he was a grave man in his conversation, and unblameable in his life, but said withal to have been carried with *non amavit*

ascribed to the influence of his example or forbearance. The only effect which can properly be attributed to his elevation, was the softening of those rigours of persecution on which others depended for the defence of their principles. It is difficult, indeed, to imagine that one man's influence, whatever his station, would have been sufficient to stop the progress of opinions firmly held, and dearly loved, by thousands of energetic minds; favoured to a remarkable degree by the measures adopted in one part of the king's dominions, and without contradiction to the Church; and in his own hereditary land evidently destined to gain a triumphant and permanent ascendancy. Had Bancroft lived, or had he been succeeded by Andrews, so worthy of all honour, so calculated, on account of his fervent spiritual-mindedness, to win the affections even of opponents, the end would have been the same. Abbot's mildness stopped persecution, lessened the number of those whose injuries were daily appealing to the righteousness of heaven against the violence of churchmen; but did nothing more; unless, indeed, we may attribute to individual influence or individual looseness of principle, to effort or neglect, on the part of one man, what the larger part of a nation has resolved to effect for itself.

The elevation of Abbot afforded a strong proof of the king's more favourable feeling towards the puritans. This was evidenced in a yet clearer manner by the part which he took in promoting the synod of Dort, the issue of which was foreseen by most of those who favoured its

gentem nostram, forsaking the birds of his own feather to fly with others, and generally favouring the laity above the clergy, in all cases which were brought before him: conceived by one of our state historians to be too facile and yielding in the exercising of his functions; by whom it is also affirmed, that his extraordinary remissness in not exacting strict conformity to the prescribed orders of the Church, in point of ceremony, seemed to resolve those legal determinations to their first principle of indifference, and to lead in such a habit of inconformity, as the future reduction of those tender conscientious men to long discontinued obedience, was interpreted an innovation. By the first character, we find what made him acceptable amongst the gentry; by the last, what made him grateful to the puritans, in favour of which men he took so little care of the great trust committed to him, and gave them so many opportunities of increasing both in power and numbers, that to stop them within full career, it was found necessary to suspend him from his metropolitical jurisdiction."—Heylyn, Cyprian. Anglic., part i., p. 229.

meeting. But, as a balance to the appointment of Abbot, Laud was raised to the bench, and soon after other divines, no less eminent for their support of the highest church principles. The sacrifice of the repose and sanctity of the Sabbath was another instance of his willingness to oblige, in the most important matters, the opponents of puritanism. In the case last mentioned a positive injury was inflicted on the country; nor is it easy to conceive, how the ministers of a church constituted like that of England, and so lately delivered from bondage, could suffer such a proceeding to take place without a bold and general expression of disgust. Enough, it is true, was said to prevent the profanation from spreading at that time to the extent apprehended; but the barriers which a favoured season had set up were broken down. The seriousness which the reformed Church had deemed it fitting to inculcate, as proper to the Sabbath, was exposed to rude censure, and even legal opposition. Men were not left, as they might safely have been, to find out the sober mean between a gloomy austerity and noisy revelry in their mode of keeping the Sabbath, but were furnished with a long catalogue of "lawful recreations," and urged to engage in them, on the monstrous pretence, that they might save the Church of England from the misrepresentations of the Romanists.

C H A P. V.

ACCESSION OF CHARLES I.—CASE OF MONTAGUE.—FEARS
ENTERTAINED BY THE CHURCH.—SIBTHORPE AND
MANWARING.—RISE AND INFLUENCE OF LAUD.—HIS
MEASURES, AND REMARKS THEREON.

ON the accession of Charles I. the several religious parties were in a state which prognosticated the approach of a long and fearful struggle. Each had acquired sufficient vigour to inspire it with the hope of finally triumphing over its antagonist. Charles inherited his father's views of the prerogative; but every session gave additional force to the popular voice in parliament, and with the increase of political influence, the House of Commons manifested a growing desire to exercise its authority in matters of religion. This was justly regarded by the most eminent churchmen of the age as likely to prove a source of innumerable evils. The case of Montague afforded them an opportunity of expressing their sentiments on the subject. The divine alluded to had observed in his answer to a Roman-catholic pamphlet, that several of the doctrines confuted were not those of the Church of England, but of Calvin and the puritans. By the efforts of the latter the attention of parliament was directed to Montague's mode of reasoning, and he was charged with endeavouring to introduce opinions both Arminian and papistical. From this accusation he appealed to the king, and was received with marked favour. He was, however, called to the bar of the House of Commons, committed to the custody of the serjeant-at-arms, and subsequently ordered to give security to the amount of two thousand pounds for his appearance. The violence of these proceedings occasioned both offence and alarm. Montague had been appointed one of the king's chaplains, and Charles, in common with the bishops that surrounded him, thus saw, at the very beginning of his

reign, how much the Church had to fear from the present temper of parliament.*

The letter of some of the bishops to the duke of Buckingham affords a good illustration of the opinions entertained at the time. "May it please your grace," they say, "we are bold to be suitors to you, in the behalf of the Church of England, and a poor member of it, Mr. Montague, at this time not a little distressed. We are not strangers to his person, but it is the cause which we are bound to be tender of. The cause, we conceive, under correction of better judgment, concerns the Church of England merely; for that Church, when it was reformed from the superstitious opinions broached or maintained by the Church of Rome, refused the apparent and dangerous errors, and would not be too busy with every particular school point. The cause why she held this moderation was, because she could not be able to preserve any unity among Christians, if men were forced to subscribe to curious particulars dis-

* Yet the state of the Church at this moment was regarded as more flourishing than at any preceding period. "If we look," it is said, "into the Church as it stood," that is at the time when Laud was made archbishop, "we shall find the prelates generally more intent upon the work committed to them; more earnest to reduce this Church to the antient orders than in former times; the clergy more obedient to the commands of their ordinaries, joining together to advance the work of uniformity recommended to them; the liturgy more punctually executed in all the parts and offices of it; the Word more diligently preached; the sacraments more reverently administered than in some scores of years before; the people more conformable to those reverend gestures in the house of God, which, though prescribed before, were but little practised; more cost laid out upon the beautifying and adorning of parochial churches, in furnishing and repairing parsonage-houses, than at or in all the times since the Reformation; the clergy grown to such esteem for parts and power, that the gentry thought none of their daughters to be better disposed of than such as they had lodged in the arms of a churchman; and the nobility, grown so well affected to the state of the Church, that some of them designed their younger sons to the order of priesthood, to make them capable of rising in the same ascendant. Next, if we look into the doctrine, we shall find her to be no less glorious within, than beautified and adorned to the outward eye; the doctrines of it publicly avowed and taught in the literal and grammatical sense, according to the true intent and meaning of the first reformers; the dictates and authorities of private men (which before had carried all before them) subjected to the sense of the Church; and the Church hearkening to no other voice than that of their great Shepherd, speaking to them in his holy scriptures; all bitterness of spirit so composed and qualified on every side, that the advancement of the great work of unity and uniformity between the parties went forward like the building of Solomon's temple, without the noise of axe or hammer."—Heylyn, Cyprian. Anglic., part i., p. 237.

puted in schools. Now, may it please your grace, the opinions which at this time trouble many men in the late book of Mr. Montague, are some of them such as are expressly the resolved doctrine of the Church of England, and those he is bound to maintain: some of them such as are fit only for schools, and to be left at more liberty for learned men to abound in their own sense, so they keep themselves peaceable and distract not the Church; and, therefore, to make any man subscribe to school opinions may justly seem hard in the Church of Christ, and was one great fault of the council of Trent; and to affright them from those opinions, in which they have, as they are bound, subscribed to the Church, as it is worse in itself, so it may be the mother of greater danger. May it please your grace further to consider, that when the clergy submitted themselves in the time of Henry VIII., the submission was so, that if any difference, doctrinal or other, fell in the Church, the king and the bishops were to be judges of it in a national synod or convocation, the king first giving leave under his broad seal to handle the points in difference. But the Church never submitted to any other judge, neither can she, though she would; and we humbly desire your grace to consider, and then to move his most gracious majesty, if you shall think fit, what dangerous consequences may follow upon it."

Their lordships then proceed to enumerate the evils apprehended. "For first," say they, "if any other judge be allowed in matter of doctrine, we shall depart from the ordinance of Christ, and the continual course and practice of the Church. Secondly, if the Church be once brought down beneath herself, we cannot but fear what may be next struck at. Thirdly, it will some way touch the honour of his majesty's dear father, and our most dread sovereign of glorious and ever-blessed memory, King James, who saw and approved all the opinions in this book; and he in his rare wisdom and judgment would never have allowed them, if they had crossed with truth and the Church of England. Fourthly, we must be bold to say, that we cannot conceive what use there can be of civil go-

vernment in the commonwealth, or of preaching and external ministry in the Church, if such fatal opinions as some which are opposite and contrary to those delivered by Mr. Montague, are, and shall be, publicly taught and maintained. Fifthly, we are certain that all or most of the contrary opinions were treated of at Lambeth, and ready to be published; but then Queen Elizabeth, of famous memory, upon notice given, how little they agreed with the practice of piety and obedience to all government, caused them to be suppressed, and so they have continued ever since, till of late some of them have received countenance at the synod of Dort. Now this was a synod of that nation, and can be of no authority in any other national church till it be received there by public authority; and our hope is, that the Church of England will be well advised, and more than once over, before she admit a foreign synod, especially of such a church as condemneth her discipline and manner of government, to say no more. And further, we are bold to commend to your grace's wisdom this one particular. His majesty, as we have been informed, hath already taken this business into his own care, and most worthily referred it in a right course to church consideration; and we well hoped, that without further trouble to the state, or breach of unity in the Church, it might so have been well and orderly composed, as we still pray it may. These things considered, we have little to say for Mr. Montague's person, only thus much we know, he is a very good scholar and a right honest man; a man every way able to do God, his majesty, and the Church of England great service. We fear he may receive great discouragement, and, which is far worse, we have some cause to doubt this may breed a great backwardness in able men to write in the defence of the Church of England, against either home or foreign adversaries, if they shall see him sink in fortunes, reputation or health; and this we most humbly submit to your grace's judgment, and care of the Church's peace and welfare."*

* Collier, vol. viii., p. 3.

Things were not yet ripe for the popular party, and Montague was allowed to remain without further molestation. But the zealous defenders of the Church had seen enough to stimulate them to activity, and the ceremonial of the coronation gave them an opportunity of making a solemn demonstration of their feelings. It is, however, worthy of remark, that the supremacy of the monarch was guarded with as much jealousy as the independence of the Church itself. Thus, in the prayer used at his coronation it was said, "Let him obtain favour for the people, like Aaron in the tabernacle, Elisha in the waters, Zacharias in the temple; give him Peter's key of discipline, and Paul's doctrine." This was no doubt intended to be taken in agreement with that liberal mode of interpretation according to which earnest and devout minds will always employ the rich expressions of religion. But both the language used, and the solemn pomps of the coronation, were ill in accordance with the spirit of the age. They offended the puritans, who had prepared themselves to sacrifice every thing to a species of religious utilitarianism. This, perhaps, would have been the case had the expressions and forms employed been of the simplest character. It is difficult, indeed, to discover the consistency of those who have from time to time disputed most angrily against the use of ceremonies. Generally they have mistaken the objection which was proper to the instance for that which they wished to urge against the principle. A particular observance has been felt by some sober-minded persons to be contrary to the simplicity of the gospel; they have refused to partake in the supposed offence; their arguments have availed, being applied to the immediate instance, and honest minds have rejoiced in their success. But there are those who feel not so acutely the present offence, yet have other floating objections to ceremonies in their thoughts; they straightway adopt the arguments valdily urged in the positive instance in support of their own wandering prejudices. Hence the simplest of observances are exposed to the severest censures, and things perfectly innocent in themselves subjected to the

same judgment as the worst examples of superstition. Supposing, indeed, that the arguments commonly employed against forms and ceremonies are valid, one form is as much to be shunned as another. The objections usually urged are predicated of forms in general, of the feeling in which forms originate; and it demands a very nice sort of discrimination to determine, when the judgment is passed, which ought to be spared out of the forms condemned, and which may be left for future employment.

It seems, however, to have been the common fault of the great and pious men of Charles's reign, to refer every thing to their own feelings as the standard of right. This was the greatest of errors, but the least of offences; and much as some part of their conduct is to be lamented, their memories will be ever dear to those who can admire what is most beautiful in an ardent and self-denying piety. To the great injury of the Church and the nation, an effort was made at this period to reconcile the principle of a ceremonial fitting for times long gone by, with the demands of an age singularly excited in a contrary direction.

But fraught as an antagonism of this kind is with evil, it might have been corrected, and the Church delivered from its peril, had not other circumstances contributed to the same dire result. Neither the late monarch, nor Charles, nor, we may say with safety, any monarch that had ever borne sway since the gospel was made a part of the royal charge, appeared capable of comprehending what was the precise line of his duty, or how a Christian king might really act, as such, while he left the ministers of the Church to execute the charge for which they were responsible to Christ. There are slight circumstances recorded in the annals of the times referred to which prove in the clearest manner the unhappy state in which the Church was at present placed, notwithstanding the zeal of the monarch, and the indubitable worth of the prelates who determined him in the choice of measures. In the late reign, it was at the mere caprice of a courtier that Abbot was chosen, and that Andrews, whose name still

retains all the sweet odour of sanctity, was rejected, when the primacy was vacant. The bishop of Lincoln had lately offended the duke of Buckingham, and the Church, in one of its highest dignitaries, was degraded before the people of a whole diocese at the mere word of a poor and wretched minion of fortune. It is the habit of men devoted to a particular cause to assert its freedom at all times from servile influences. But we may, in perfect consistency with love and devotion, confess that, in seasons of trial, the objects we most admire have been saddened, if not overcome, by adversity. The Church, in the time of Charles, struggled with a noble confidence in its principles against a host of enemies; but it ought not to be denied that it did not confide in its own resources. There was a temptation too strong for even its best friends, the temptation resulting from particular tastes and feelings, and the apparent sufficiency of the civil power to furnish weapons for a warfare not carnal.

It is of the utmost importance to a right understanding of the prevailing opinions of these times, that we fairly attend to the judgment passed on such men as Montague. Thus in the second parliament, a commission for religion being formed, articles were exhibited against him which plainly indicate, that though the men who presumed to be his judges had usurped the office which they exercised, he was not free from the error of having propounded dogmas which had better, unless supposed to be necessary to the completeness of the Christian creed, which it was acknowledged was not the case, have been kept altogether apart from more essential propositions. It was this error which gave his adversaries their stand against him, and, which was far worse, enabled them to charge the Church itself with opinions which, it was well known, would tend to prejudice its cause in the eyes of the nation.

In the preamble to the articles of impeachment, it is said that Montague, "in or about the twenty-first year of the reign of our late sovereign King James, of famous memory, caused to be printed, and in his name to be published, one book, called 'An Answer to the late Gag of Protestants;' and in or about anno twenty-two

of the same king, he caused to be printed and published one other book, entitled 'A Treatise of the Invocation of Saints;' and likewise in the first year of his majesty's reign that now is, he procured to be printed, and in his name to be published, another book, entitled 'An Appeal to Cæsar.' In every of which books he hath maintained and confirmed some doctrine contrary and repugnant to the articles agreed by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces and the whole clergy, holden in the convocation at London, A. D. 1562, according to the computation of the Church of England, 'for avoiding of diversity of opinions, and for establishing consent touching true religion,' all which appears in the places hereafter mentioned, and in divers other places and passages of the same books; and by his so doing hath broken the laws and statutes of this realm in that case provided, and very much disturbed both the peace of the Church and commonwealth." *

The instances are then given in which he is said to have contradicted the articles of the Church, and favoured Romanism. Thus, 1. "Whereas in the thirty-fifth article of the articles afore-mentioned, it is declared, that the second Book of Homilies doth contain a godly and wholesome doctrine; in the sixteenth homily of which book it is determined, that the Church of Rome, as it is at present, and hath been for the space of nine hundred years and odd, is so far wide from the nature of a true Church that nothing can be more: he, the said Richard Montague, in several places in the said books, called 'The Answer to the Gag,' and in his other book, called 'The Appeal,' doth advisedly maintain and affirm that the Church of Rome is and ever was a true Church since it was a Church." 2. That "Whereas in the same homily it is likewise declared, that the Church of Rome is not built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles; and in the eight-and-twentieth article of the said articles, that transubstantiation overthroweth the nature of a sacrament; and in the five-and-twentieth of the said articles, that five other reputed sacraments of the Church of Rome are not to be accounted sacraments:

* Rushworth : Historical Collections, vol. 1., p. 209.

yet, contrary and repugnant hereunto, he, the said Richard Montague, doth maintain and affirm in his book aforesaid, called 'The Answer to the Gag,' that the Church of Rome hath ever remained firm upon the same foundation of sacraments and doctrine instituted by God." 3. That, "In the nineteenth of the same articles, it is further determined that the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in living and matters of ceremony, but also in matters of faith: he, the said Richard Montague, speaking of those points which belong to faith and good manners, hope and charity, doth in the said book, called 'The Gag,' affirm and maintain that none of these are controverted in their points, meaning the Protestants and Papists; and, notwithstanding that in the thirty-first article it is resolved that the sacrifice of masses, in which, as it is commonly said, the priest doth offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain, and guilt too, is a blasphemous fable and dangerous deceit, this being one of the points controverted between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, the said Richard Montague, in his book called 'The Gag,' doth affirm and maintain that the controverted points are of a lesser and inferior nature, of which a man may be ignorant without any danger of his soul at all: a man may resolve to oppose this or that without peril of perishing for ever."

Another class of errors is spoken of in the following articles: Thus, 4. "Whereas in the second homily, entitled 'Against Peril of Idolatry,' contained in the aforesaid Book of Homilies, and approved by the thirty-fifth article afore-mentioned, it is declared, that images teach no good lesson, neither of God nor godliness, but all error and wickedness: he, the said Richard Montague, in the book of 'Gag' aforesaid, doth affirm and maintain that images may be used for the instruction of the ignorant, and excitation of devotion." And again, "That in the same homily it is plainly expressed, that the attributing the defence of certain countries to saints, is a spoiling God of his honour, and that such saints are but *dii tutelares* of the Gentiles, or idolaters: the said Richard Montague hath, notwithstanding, in his said

book, entitled 'A Treatise concerning the Invocation of Saints,' affirmed and maintained that saints have not only a memory, but a more peculiar charge of their friends; and that it may be admitted that some saints have a peculiar patronage, custody, protection and power, as angels also have, over certain persons and countries, by special deputation, and that it is no impiety so to believe." And, "Whereas in the seventeenth of the said articles, it is resolved, that God hath certainly decreed by his counsel, secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation; wherefore they which he endued with so excellent a benefit of God, and called according to God's purpose, working in due season, they through grace obey the calling, they be justified freely, walk religiously in good works, and, at length, by God's mercy, attain to everlasting felicity: he, the said Richard Montague, in the said book, called 'The Appeal,' doth maintain and affirm, that men justified may fall away and depart from the state which once they had; they may rise again, and become new men, possibly, but not certainly, nor necessarily. And the better to countenance this his opinion, he hath in the same book wilfully added, falsified and changed divers words in the sixteenth of the articles before mentioned, and divers other words, both in the Book of Homilies and in the Book of Common Prayer, and so mis-recited and changed the said places he doth allege in the said book, called 'The Appeal,' endeavouring thereby to lay a most wicked and malicious scandal upon the Church of England, as if she did herein differ from the reformed churches beyond the seas, and did consent to those pernicious errors which are commonly called Arminianism, and which the late famous Queen Elizabeth and King James, of happy memory, did so piously and diligently labour to suppress."

Further: "That the said Richard Montague, contrary to his duty and allegiance, hath endeavoured to raise great factions and divisions in this commonwealth, by casting the odious and scandalous name of puritans upon such of his majesty's loving subjects as conform themselves to

the doctrines and ceremonies of the Church of England, under that name, laying upon them divers false and malicious imputations, so as to bring them into jealousy and displeasure with his most excellent majesty, and into reproach and ignominy with the rest of the people, to the great danger of sedition and disturbance in the state, if it be not timely prevented. That the scope and end of the said Richard Montague, in the books before mentioned, is to give encouragement to popery, and to withdraw his majesty's subjects from true religion established, to the Roman superstition, and consequently to be reconciled to the see of Rome; all which he laboureth, by subtle and cunning ways, whereby God's true religion hath been much scandalized, those mischiefs introduced which the wisdom of many laws hath endeavoured to prevent; the devices and practices of his majesty's enemies have been furthered and advanced, to the great peril and hazard of our sovereign lord the king, and of all his dominions and loving subjects."

Lastly: "That the said Richard Montague hath inserted into the book, called 'The Appeal,' divers passages dishonourable to the late king, his majesty's father, of famous memory, full of bitterness, railing and injurious speeches to other persons, disgraceful and contemptible to many worthy divines, both of this kingdom and other reformed churches beyond the seas; impious and profane in scoffing at preaching, meditating and conferring, pulpits, lectures, Bible, and all show of religion, all which do aggravate his former offences, having proceeded from malicious and envenomed heat against the peace of the Church, and the sincerity of the reformed religion publicly professed and by law established in this kingdom. All which offences being to the dishonour of God, and of most mischievous effect and consequence against the good of this Church and commonwealth of England, and of other his majesty's realms and dominions, the commons assembled in parliament do hereby pray that the said Richard Montague may be punished according to his demerits, in such exemplary manner as may deter others from attempting so presumptuously to disturb the peace of the Church and state,

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and that the book aforesaid may be suppressed and
burnt.”*

Some surprise has been expressed that no further proceedings appear to have been taken in the case of Montague; but it is evident, from the very nature of the measure, that the principal object of its authors was fully secured when they had publicly and in parliament expressed their sentiments on certain positions in his pamphlets. The leaders of the popular party were too clever as politicians, not to see that any punishment which they could cause to be inflicted on a clergyman would, in all probability, be despised by the sufferer, while, beyond all doubt, it would be met by the Church with the whole power of its influence and untiring resentment. Even at the best, nothing would have been gained by their immediate success in such a proceeding; but a vast deal was effected in favour of their future and larger designs by what had really been done. A division existed in the Church itself, which the present expression of parliamentary feeling contributed in no slight degree to increase. Montague, though favoured by Laud and his party, was regarded with little respect by others of the bishops. The puritans had almost succeeded in exchanging their name for Calvinists; and the doctrines whence that appellation was derived were allowed to be discussed, as having a fair claim to be admitted into the interpretation of the received articles. In a proclamation set forth by the king about this time, it is said, that “he had an utter dislike to those who, to show their parts, to please their humour, or play their revenge, should be so hardy as to propagate any new opinions differing from the orthodoxical belief of the Church of England,” and that he was “fully resolved never to admit any innovation in the doctrine or discipline of the Church.” Yet further: “And as he will be always forward to encourage his religious and well-affected subjects, so he is resolved not to forbear the punishing of those who, out of sinister regards, shall presume to embroil either Church or state. His ma-

* Whether an answer was made to these articles we cannot tell, for upon search we can find none.—Rushworth, vol. i., p. 213.

jesty, therefore, commands all his subjects, and more especially the clergy, both in England and Ireland, that from henceforth they manage themselves with such discretion and conscience, that neither by writing, preaching, printing, conferences or otherwise, they raise any doubts, or publish any singularities concerning religion ; but that upon arguments of this nature they keep themselves close to the doctrine and discipline happily established by authority."

It is evident from the language here employed, that the hope was still entertained of silencing controversy by law. Instead, however, of any success attending the effort to secure tranquillity by such means, it only served to provoke a spirit of more determined resistance. The measures taken by the court to aid the Church seemed to justify a political opposition. If the Church rejoiced in the favour of the king, its opponents deemed it equally wise and lawful to place themselves under the protection of their representatives in parliament. The controversy, therefore, soon ceased to present the mere ordinary features of a religious contest, but rapidly assumed the character of a fearful struggle between one portion of the state and another. At the particular juncture, the Church was unhappy in its anxiety to press the weight of royal authority into its service, and the king was not less unfortunate in his involving himself, at such a time, in the perplexities of the prevailing disputes.

But it was not of a mere error that the government was guilty. The wretched practice had been introduced of making the ministers of the Church instruments of state policy, while they were themselves subjected, as far as possible, to the most arbitrary enactments. Distressing as it is to contemplate a pious and learned man like Montague, called before parliament to give an account of every opinion he had uttered, there was, if no proper, yet, a colourable apology for such a proceeding. Parliament had confirmed the articles, and given its high sanction to the constitution of the Church ; a churchman, therefore, might be regarded as amenable to parliament for any formal opposition to the established formularies. But the king assumed an authority over the clergy, and

treated them with a severity, for which no such apology could be made. Abbot had refused to license a sermon preached by Dr. Sibthorp, the language of which seemed dictated by the most servile spirit, and was calculated to inspire universal disgust. * The king laid it before Laud, who, having made some very slight corrections, pronounced it proper for publication. Immediately after this, Abbot was suspended, and whether his conduct in the above affair, or his tolerant disposition, was the real cause of his disgrace, it is equally evident, that the mere will of the sovereign was now allowed, and that by churchmen, to be considered as sufficient to set aside the best and most important of ecclesiastical laws. † Explanations may be given in apology for the conduct of such men as Laud and others on occasions like this; but we deem that it would be next to impossible to reconcile their approval of the suspension of Abbot with a faithful and consistent zeal for the common rights of their order.

Objectionable as was Sibthorp's sermon, another was preached in the same style by Dr. Manwaring, who asserted, "that the king was not bound to preserve the subjects in their legal rights and liberties; that his royal will and absolute command in imposing loans and taxes, though without the consent of parliament, ought to be obeyed by the subject, under the penalty of eternal damnation; that those who refused to comply with the loan, transgressed the law of God, insulted the king's supreme authority, and incurred the guilt of impiety, disloyalty and rebellion; that the authority of both houses is not necessary for the raising of aids and subsidies; that the slow proceedings of such great assemblies were not suitable to the exigencies of the state; and that by going thus far about, princes must of necessity be clogged and disappointed in their business." With however little reason, the Church was regarded as offending, in these individual preachers, against the liberties of the nation. Manwaring had committed an offence very different from that of Montague; and

* Collier, vol. viii., p. 20; Laud's Diary, p. 91. 93.

† Fuller, b. xi., p. 127; Rushworth, vol. i., p. 435.

many who felt extreme disgust at the treatment of the latter, considered that the House of Commons was only performing its duty to the country in the severe punishment * which it inflicted on the former. But every circumstance of this kind tended to accelerate the progress of events to a disastrous issue.

The elevation of Laud, who was now promoted to the see of London; that of Montague, who was made bishop of Chichester; and of Manwaring, who was also raised to the bench, convinced the low Church party and the puritans that no regard whatever was likely to be paid either to their remonstrances or their censures. Their appeal, at present, was solely to the articles of the Church. "We, the Commons in parliament assembled," was the language employed, "do claim, protest and avow for truth, the sense of the articles of religion, which were established by parliament in the thirteenth year of our late Queen Elizabeth, which by the public act of the Church of England, and by the general and current expositions of the writers of our Church, have been delivered unto us, and we reject the sense of the Jesuits and Arminians, and all others wherein they differ from us."

It is worthy of observation that both parties appealed with equal confidence to the articles of the Church. One of the earliest measures attributed to Laud on his accession to power was the reprinting of the articles. To this new edition the king prefixed a declaration, which intimated the entire conviction of both himself and his court, that if the articles were interpreted "according to their literal and grammatical sense," they would be sufficient to maintain the religious peace of the kingdom. But so great was the doubt entertained by many respecting this "literal and grammatical sense" of at least the seventeenth article, that the Calvinists, who were chiefly aimed at in the present measures, referred to it as obliging them, if consistent with the Church, to preach the doctrines of grace and predestination. Perpetual appeals were made in parliament, not only to the articles, but to the other au-

* Collier, vol. viii., p. 31.

thorized formularies of the Church; and had there been a greater readiness to answer these appeals with simplicity of spirit; had there been fewer attempts to enlarge the catalogue of ceremonies, when the most feverish jealousy existed against them, the Church might have overcome its antagonists at a far less expense, and assuredly with more honour to its friends and champions.

On the death of Abbot, Laud was promoted to the vacant dignity, and exercised a most important part in the direction of the king's counsels. Nothing could be more inconsistent with the well-known principles of English government than most of those counsels; nor can it without an effort be believed that, as far as they related to religion, they were such as would have been adopted by men left free to consider what might best promote the interests of truth and holiness. But it was a season of extraordinary trials, and though some of the actors in the scenes were to a certain degree distinguished for ability as well as piety, there does not seem to have existed in any of those who bore the heaviest share of responsibility, that commanding power of intellect or self-devoting enthusiasm, which is often, under God, found sufficient to weather the storm, from whatever quarter it may arise.

The terrible attempt of Charles to pursue a policy which the palmyest days of the prerogative would scarcely have allowed, involved both himself and his advisers in guilt as well as ruin. It was not mere error that led them, for the sake of resisting this or that class of antagonists, to violate the civil and religious rights of the nation. If it was their misfortune to have fallen upon evil times, they certainly acquired no privilege therefrom to exercise unconstitutional powers, or to adopt maxims which have so often led virtuous minds to hate a government directed by ecclesiastics. Laud was a man of but mean powers of mind for the difficult position which he occupied; and he was open to all the temptations which beset a courtier. His private journal proves him, moreover, to have been weak and superstitious, subject perpetually to a thousand fanciful im-

pressions; to have been wrought upon by the most trifling accidents, and in scarcely any respect possessing the qualities necessary to the favoured adviser of a king in seasons of danger. As a bishop in his diocese, the quick susceptibility which characterized his disposition; his keen feeling of what is sublime and beautiful in the public services of religion; his jealous reverence for the Church, as such, would have rendered him as essentially useful as they must have made him amiable in the sight of his clergy. But the burdens which his ambition had imposed upon him were as much too great for his nervous constitution, as the duties they involved were too large for the grasp of his mind. Almost every page of his journal bespeaks the condition of a man overwrought; living perpetually in that excitable state in which dreams and prodigies are looked for, and when they come are put upon the rack, and tortured till they wear some supposed intelligible shape. It is distressing to trace the signs of weakness thus presented, and then to recollect, that a man of such a class was largely intrusted, in the saddest period of English history, with the dearest interests of the country, and with the government and defence of the Church. In the latter respect, so far was Laud from really promoting the welfare of the establishment, that inasmuch as an individual could expose it to a miserable overthrow, he was chargeable with having done so. The constitution of the Church had proved itself impregnable to the attacks of its enemies. Its articles, as we have seen, were so far from being objected to by those who were most to be dreaded, that they were claimed as the support of their own principles. Conformity, moreover, in respect to its ordinances had been accorded to a much greater degree than could have been expected; and had these advantages been permanently secured by a period of tranquillity, and some exercise of moderation on the part of those who could not yet entirely agree with each other, the Church would soon have well nigh possessed as exalted a position and as wide an influence as in the best of times have fallen to its share.

But if they who inconsiderately provoke schism are

guilty of an offence only inferior to that of schism itself, both Laud and his associates may be considered as fairly deserving of very severe censure. Instead of being satisfied with what the Church already enjoyed, and which it could only by great discretion retain, they amused themselves and their infatuated sovereign, with endeavours to introduce observances calculated to excite disgust in the minds of some, suspicion in those of many more, and not necessary to the improvement of any. A wise commander will not be easy while even the outermost line of his defences is weak and indefensible; much less, in the hour of danger, will he feel inclined to desert a strong position for one which is altogether of a doubtful character. But this was, in fact, the conduct of Laud and his party. The Church, as it had been established at the Reformation, was strong as ever. The Church, in the progress of its change as contemplated by Laud, became every day more feeble; and when the men who desired its ruin saw themselves successful against the weakest points of its clergy, they were stimulated to believe that the Church itself might be permanently humbled or overthrown.

The infatuation of the leading men in the royal council-chamber was in nothing more conspicuously shown than in the republication of the orders respecting the Sabbath. Every appearance of seriousness and strict devotion on that day seems to have been regarded more and more with jealousy by the Church. It might, however, have been supposed that the king and the bishops would have contented themselves with commanding the people to make merry, and pursue their sports, and not be righteous overmuch; and that if in this case, as in others less public, a command to exhibit the signs of jollity was found not to be the surest way of making men happy, the matter would have been allowed to rest. But, on the contrary, the clergy throughout the country were to give the signal for "the morris-dances," "the leaping, vaulting, and other harmless amusements;" and when many of them refused to profane the reading-desk or pulpit by such a proclamation, they were not only suspended, but prosecuted in the Star-chamber.

If the clergy for no other offence than this, of humbly endeavouring to preserve their people in quietness and sobriety on the Sabbath, were exposed to persecution, it may easily be conceived how little tolerance was likely to be shown to those who took a yet bolder part in opposing the opinions of the court. The case of Smart, prebendary of Durham,* is one that has been exposed to some criticism; but even when taken with all that is suspicious about it, it proves, in the clearest manner, that it was considered and punished as a crime in the clergy to entertain, not, it should be observed, opinions against the Church itself, but against the notions of this or that bishop who happened to possess the ear of the monarch. Smart, it appears, preached a discourse from the text, "I hate all those who love superstitious vanities, but thy law do I love." In the course of his sermon he made several strong allusions to the evident desire of the high Church party to introduce new observances in the public worship. There can be no doubt that his language was intemperate, and that he gave but little heed to the demand which a general neglect of propriety in the service of the Church had created for some species of correction. But it is not necessary to prove that he, or the class of men to which he belonged, was free from error. The points to be kept in view are, first, that much more appears to have been done in regard to the externals of the Church than the times warranted; and next, that they who spoke freely, probably intemperately on the subject, were punished in a manner either altogether unjustifiable, or, at least, wholly disproportioned to the nature of the offence.†

* Fuller, b. xi., p. 173; Neal, vol. ii., p. 181.

† Heylyn, who was present at the consecration of Stanmore Church, says, "I observed all the circumstances and religious ceremonies which were used by him in that sacred action, from his first coming into the church till his going out, but could see nothing in it savouring of that superstition which had raised so much talk amongst ignorant people, and afterwards was certified by Willingham at the time of his trial, in reference to the consecration of St. Katherine Creed Church. The antiquity of which consecration hath been shown in our introduction, performed by the fathers at such times when the Church hated nothing more than superstitious vanities, or the accumulating of unnecessary and fruitless ceremonies. The form and manner of it left by our first reformers to the care and discretion of the bishops whom it most concerned; presuming that nothing would be done by them which would not be consistent with the rules of piety, and the antient practice of

Smart having been apprehended in consequence of the report made of his sermon, suffered four months' imprisonment before informed exactly of the charge against him. The commissioners then exhibited their articles, but five months more elapsed before he was allowed the advantage of legal advice to prepare for his defence. That advice, when obtained, was found of little use. He was deprived of his benefice; degraded; excommunicated; condemned to pay a fine of five hundred pounds, and then cast into prison, where he remained eleven years, only obtaining his release in 1640, when the Long Parliament restored him to his prebend, and gave him the living of Aycklyffe.

That the archbishop was not content with simply endeavouring to correct the negligence which disfigured in many respects the services of the Church, is strikingly shown in the accounts given of some of his consecrations. The service performed at the re-opening of St. Catherine Cree, if correctly described, would have startled the minds of men in a far different state to that of most of those which the ceremonies alluded to were intended to instruct or affect. They could not but have regretted the introduction, at such a time, of observances which were in no wise needed to the sanctifying of the house of prayer. Solemn and affecting as is the service with which we are now happily familiar, there are few persons, though some might consider it improved, who would feel it wise to introduce, in the midst of a jealous and excited people, the forms attributed to Laud. Much of what he did offended his contemporaries, because they were prejudiced against even the most becoming and allowable observances; but, as in the case of the constitution and ordinances of the Church generally, these admitted of a ready and satisfactory defence. When, however, the archbishop bowed five or six times on approaching the altar; when he repeated this ceremony as he fixed his eyes on the spot

the Church in the times foregoing. And such a form was that which this bishop now made use of, digested first by the learned Andrews for his own particular use, but afterwards copied out, approved and followed, though possibly not without some alterations, by most bishops else."—Cyprian. *Anglic.*, part i., p. 201.

where lay the sacramental elements; when he lifted up the corner of the napkin, and then letting it fall, retreated as struck with awe, and made three or four more bows, repeating the same ceremonies in regard to the wine; when these things were done, it can create little surprise that men began to suspect the archbishop's conformity of faith and principles with those of the Church, as interpreted by the majority of its members. Let it be acknowledged, that he was conscientiously assured of the agreement of such observances with the spirit of Christian devotion, and that he felt himself comforted, and his mind elevated, at their performance; this would be far from proving that he was justified in his proceedings. It had been long proclaimed by the party of which he was chief, that men had no right to consult or gratify their own feelings or tastes, or even their individual consciences, in the services of religion. The elevation which he enjoyed gave him a large share in the responsibility of preserving the Church in purity of doctrine and worship; and those who knew their duty would listen with filial reverence to his counsels; but even the most affectionate members of the Church might, without any sacrifice of their devotion, question the wisdom of that which the Church itself did not command.

CHAP. VI.

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE PURITANS.—IMPROVEMENT
OF CHURCHES.—LAUD'S LETTER TO SIR KENELM DIGBY.
—EXCITEMENT IN SCOTLAND.—INCREASE OF THE
PURITANS.—THEIR SUCCESSES.—SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

NUMBERLESS were the instances of oppression committed at this time, and for which it seems scarcely possible to frame an apology, drawn from the principles or constitution of the Church itself. But the injuries inflicted on individuals were not the only evils to be deplored. There are some pious minds which, though neither weak nor ill instructed, easily yield to provocation, and especially when it is on the side of brotherly kindness and sympathy. The austerity of Laud afforded the puritans the best argument they possessed in relation to men of this class. However bad their reasoning when properly tested, it served for the purpose in view. The Church was becoming popish; its chiefs were animated by the gloomy spirit of intolerance; and the clergy who shone most conspicuously as champions of orthodoxy, were well paid for their zeal by rapid and high preferment. Such were the statements urged on the attention of the earnest and pious men who, though as yet faithful to the Church themselves, could not but grieve over the sufferings of those who, for apparently insufficient reasons, were punished as its enemies. It can create little surprise, considering the common movements of human feeling, that many were persuaded to believe that the persecuted were right, and the persecutors wrong, forgetting to make the distinction which would have shown them that, though men may be persecuted wickedly, it may be neither wise nor virtuous to adopt their notions or follow their example.

But in this way the Church lost a large number of earnest and devout labourers in the vineyard of Christ. It could ill spare, at this time, any of the warm blood of evangelical zeal. When bishops themselves were perpetually obliged to bend the knee to despicable court favourites; when the rest of the clergy were every moment in danger of being called either before the House of Commons to account for their churchmanship, or before some political prelate to apologize for their love of the gospel, there ought surely to have been on the side of the Church in general a more cautious course of proceeding. It was not the compromise of its rights, the sacrifice of its power, or the changing of its articles, which was called for, in order to give it the ability to exercise moderation; all, at this particular season, needed, was the repressing, on the part of some few prelates, of a zeal for things with which the Church itself had nothing to do.

That much was lost by the expulsion of some of those ministers whom the leaders of the Church party, at this time, deprived of their livings, is strikingly shown in the annals of the times. Those annals, it is true, may have been written by nonconformists; they may contain some things false, and others may have been extenuated, or set down in malice; but the whole must be false,—false, that is, in every material fact, to excuse the conduct of Laud and his coadjutors. That such is the case, no reader of history, who has common fairness, is likely to aver. But should it be insisted, that nothing ought to be received as honest evidence which an opponent has written, far more must be suffered on the part of Laud than on that of his adversaries; for by an order of the Star-chamber, it was decreed, “that no book be printed, unless it be first licensed, with all its titles, epistles and prefaces, by the archbishop or bishop of London, for the time being, or by their appointment, and within the limits of the university, by the chancellor or vice-chancellor, on pain of the printer’s being disabled from his profession for the future, and to suffer such other punishment as the high commission shall think fit.” Moreover, “that before any books imported

from abroad be sold, a catalogue of them shall be delivered to the archbishop or bishop of London, to be perused by themselves or their chaplains; and if there be any schismatical or offensive books, they shall be delivered up to the bishop, or to the high commission, that the offenders may be punished." Again, it is directed, "That no person shall print beyond sea any English book or books, whereof the greatest part is English, whether formerly printed or not; nor shall any book be reprinted, though formerly licensed, without a new license." Lastly, "That if any person that is not an allowed printer shall set up a printing-press, he shall be put in the pillory, and be whipped through the streets of London."

Under regulations so stringent as these, but little opportunity was left for that liberty of expression on the side of complainants, which the party of Laud deemed so necessary for the defence of its views and designs. If allowance, therefore, is to be made for the unfairness of party statements, such allowance will not prejudice, in the eyes of an honest historian, the accounts given by the puritans only. It will be confessed, that if the documents on one side have a 'suspicious air, so have those on the other, but that both have enough of truth in them to enable a candid inquirer to form a tolerably correct notion of the points disputed. The commonest of the circumstances reported are, indeed, sufficient for this. Every year crowds of emigrants left their native shores, animated solely by religious zeal, or the desire of preserving themselves from the inflictions with which they were perpetually threatened. "Heylyn,"* says Neal, "acknowledges that the severe pressing of the ceremonies made the people in many trading towns tremble at a visitation; but when they found their striving in vain, and that they had lost the comfort of the lecturers, who were turned out for not reading the second service at the communion table in their hoods and surplices, and for using other prayers besides that of the fifty-fifth canon, it was no hard matter for those ministers to persuade them to transport themselves into foreign

* Cyprian. Anglic., part II., p. 344.

parts. 'The sun,' said they, 'shines as comfortably in other places, and the sun of righteousness much brighter. It is better to go and dwell in Goshen, find it where we can, than tarry in the midst of such Egyptian bondage as is among us. The sinful corruptions of the Church are now grown so general, that there is no place free from the contagion; therefore, go out of her, my people, and be not partakers of her sins.'"*

Among those who most readily obeyed this call were men of the sincerest piety, and of dispositions in which Christian humility and patience might be easily traced, notwithstanding the trials to which they were exposed. It is impossible, without a violation of charity, to read unmoved the fervent language of these men as they prepared themselves for exile. "We covenant with our Lord," they said, "and one with another. We bind ourselves, in the presence of God, to walk together in all his ways, according as he is pleased to reveal himself to us in his blessed word of truth, and do profess to walk as follows, through the power and grace of our Lord Jesus Christ. We avouch the Lord to be our God, and ourselves to be his people, in the truth and simplicity of our spirits. We give ourselves to the Lord Jesus Christ, and to the word of grace, for the teaching, ruling and sanctifying us in matters of worship and conversation." . . . Again: "We promise to walk with our brethren with all watchfulness and tenderness, avoiding jealousies, suspicions, backbitings, censurings, provokings, secret risings of spirit against them; but in all offences to follow the rule of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to bear and forbear, give and forgive, as he hath taught us. In public or private we will willingly do nothing to the offence of the Church, but will be willing to take advice for ourselves, and ours, as occasion shall be presented. We will not in the congregation be forward, either to shew our own gifts and parts in speaking, or scrupling, or in discovering the weaknesses or failings of our brethren; but attend an ordinary call thereunto, knowing how much the Lord may be dishonoured, and his gospel, and the profession of it, slighted by our dis-

* Neal, vol. II., p. 289.

tempers and weaknesses in public. We bind ourselves to study the advancement of the gospel in all truth and peace, both in regard of those that are within or without, no way slighting our sister churches, but using their counsel as need shall be ; not laying a stumbling-block before any, no, not the Indians, whose good we desire to promote, and so to converse as we may avoid the very appearance of evil. We do hereby promise to carry ourselves in all lawful obedience to those that are over us in church or commonwealth, knowing how well pleasing it will be to the Lord that they should have encouragement in their places, by our not grieving their spirits by our irregularities. We resolve to approve ourselves to the Lord in our particular callings, shunning idleness as the bane of any state ; nor will we deal hardly or oppressingly with any, wherein we are the Lord's stewards ; promising, also, to the best of our ability, to teach our children and servants the knowledge of God, and of his will, that they may serve Him also ; and all this, not by any strength of our own, but by the Lord Jesus Christ, whose blood we desire may sprinkle this our covenant made in his name."*

To the body of exiles which expressed these sentiments on their departure, another was soon after added, whose "humble request," issued in the name "of his majesty's loyal subjects, the governor and company lately gone for New England, to the rest of their brethren in and of the Church of England, for the obtaining of their prayers, and removal of suspicions and misconstructions of their intentions," contained this passage, addressed particularly to the heads of the clergy : "You are not ignorant," it is said, "that the spirit of God stirred up the apostle Paul to make a continual mention of the Church of Philippi, which was a colony from Rome. Let the same spirit, we beseech you, put you in mind, that are the Lord's remembrancers, to pray for us without ceasing ; and what goodness you shall extend to us, in this or any other Christian kindness, we, your brethren in Christ, shall labour to repay

* Neal, vol. II., p. 183.

in what duty we are or shall be able to perform ; promising, so far as God shall enable us, to give him no rest on your behalf ; wishing our heads and hearts may be fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare, when we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness, overshadowed with the spirit of supplication, through the manifold necessities and tribulations which may not altogether unexpectedly, nor, we hope, unprofitably befall us.”*

While these men thus sought in their exile to cultivate the charity and humility which became them, they left a party, claiming them as its associates, which stood in the utmost need of their example. The Church was thus a further sufferer by their departure. Only the worst and most virulent of its enemies were left behind. Had some of those pious men, whom the severity of its chiefs drove from their homes, remained in England, the rancour of puritanism must have been continually checked by their moderation and more Christian temper ; and though they might neither have wished nor attempted to suppress the struggle as a contest for religious liberty, they would doubtless have exercised sufficient influence to deprive it of its most pernicious features.

The proceedings of Laud were eagerly imitated by other prelates, and the improvement of parish churches and cathedrals afforded numerous proofs of their zeal and munificence. These sacred edifices had, it appears, been left in infamous neglect ; and their squalid and dilapidated state could not be contemplated by a churchman without mingled sorrow and indignation. Irreverence for heavenly mysteries might be traced in the rude, slovenly mode in which the furniture of the Church was arranged ; and both the clergy and the people, it might reasonably be feared, were in danger of losing more and more of that salutary awe which the house of prayer formerly inspired. Canterbury, it is said, exhibited fewer of the disorders spoken of than most places. The dean and chapter had provided for the general performance of the services in a decent and

* Neal, vol. ii., p. 185.

becoming manner. Laud, however, feared that this state of things was not secure. He, therefore, drew up a new body of statutes, and among these appeared the order that the dean, prebends and others, "at their coming in and going out of the choir, and all approaches to the altar, should, by bowing toward it, make due reverence to Almighty God." This same order was repeated in the injunctions sent to Winchester; and in the new statutes drawn up for Hereford, some of which make evident allusion to the shameful neglect of which the clergy of the cathedral had hitherto been guilty. Thus it is ordered, "first, that each residentiary should officiate twice every year, under the pain of paying forty shillings, to be laid out on ornaments of the Church: secondly, that they should officiate on Sundays and holidays in their copes: thirdly, that they should stand up at the creeds and gospel and doxologies, and bow so often as the name of Jesus was mentioned, and that no man should be covered in the Church: fourthly, that every one should bow toward the altar: fifthly, that the prayer before their sermons should be made according to the fifty-fifth canon;" which, as it shows to what disorders they were grown in point of practice, and how they had deviated from the rules of the Church, so may it serve to verify that old observation, "That many times corrupt manners and evil customs do beget good laws."*

Among the first to show his anxiety to follow out the principles advocated by Laud was Manwaring, who, having been appointed to the deanery of Worcester, on the elevation of Juxon, immediately began the reformation which he deemed necessary to the promotion of piety. Thus it is said, that "having erected a fair table of marble, standing on four well-fashioned columns, he covered the wall behind the same with hangings of azure-coloured stuff, having a white silk lace upon every seam, and furnished it with palls and fronts, as he had observed in his majesty's and some bishops' chapels, and ordered the king's scholars, being forty in number, who formerly used to throng tumultuously into the choir, to

* Heylyn, Cyprian, *Anglic.*, part. ii., p. 275.

go in rank by two and two, and make their due obeisances at their coming in.”*

The custom of bowing to the altar soon excited opposition and alarm; it was, therefore, deemed necessary to defend the practice; and Morton, bishop of Durham, in his treatise on the Romish sacrifice, undertook to show how little reason there was to charge his party with superstition on this account. Speaking of the Romanists, he says, “The like difference may be discerned between their manner of reverence in bowing towards the altar for adoration of the Eucharist only, and ours in bowing as well when there is no Eucharist on the table as when there is, which is not to the table of the Lord, but to the Lord of the table, to testify the communion of all the faithful communicants therewith, even as the people of God did in adoring him before the ark, his footstool.”†

But however it might have been found possible, in other times, effectually to defend practices so generally disliked, the age of which we are speaking was the least likely of any to admit of apologies for suspected customs. Unhappily, nothing was wanting to excite suspicion and foment jealousy. At the very period alluded to, the queen was employing the bishops about the court to concert measures for the greater encouragement of her priests. “She thought it best,” it is observed, “to take the archbishop into such of her counsels as might by him be carried on to her contentment, and with no dishonour to himself, of which he gives this intimation in the Breviate on the 30th of August 1634, namely, ‘That the queen sent for him to Oatlands, and gave him thanks for a business which she had trusted him withal, promising him to be his friend, and that he should have immediate access to her when he had occasion.’”‡

It is generally believed that the business alluded to arose from the arrival of Panzani, an envoy from Rome, sent over nominally to bring about a reconciliation

* Heylyn, Cyprian. Anglie., part ii., p. 275.

† Morton's book was published in 1637.—Heylyn, part ii., p. 276.

‡ Diary of Arch. Laud.—Heylyn, part ii., p. 286.

between the seculars and regulars, but in reality to effect designs "not fit to be discovered unto vulgar eyes." Such at least was the success of the messenger, that after a short time he did not hesitate to ask "whether his majesty would permit the residing of a Catholic bishop of the English nation, to be nominated by his majesty, and not to exercise his function but as his majesty should limit?" The answer was given by the counter-question, "Whether the pope would allow of such a bishop of his majesty's nominating as held the oath of allegiance lawful, and should permit the taking of it by the Catholic subjects?"*

Whether there were any evil designs or not concealed under these movements, the rumours to which they gave rise were eminently calculated to injure the cause of the Church, and to render even the most innocent proceedings of its leaders the subject of angry censure. In such a state of things scarcely a day could pass without producing some occasion of offence; while this readiness to take offence was itself, on the other hand, a sure indication of a state of irritation not likely to cease without the application of some strong or violent remedy. The king's letter, for example, had been drawn up and sealed, authorizing a collection for the exiled ministers of the Palatinate. Thus prepared, the document was laid before the archbishop, when he immediately fixed his attention on a passage, in which it was said, that the case of the exiles was the more to be deplored, for that "this extremity was fallen upon them for their sincerity and constancy in the true religion, which we together with them professed, and which we are all bound in conscience to maintain to the utmost of our powers: whereas these religious and godly persons being involved amongst other their countrymen, might have enjoyed their estates and fortunes if, with other backsliders in the times of trial, they would have submitted themselves to the anti-christian

* Also, April 3, 1638: "Before the king's going, I settled with him a great business for the queen, which, I understood, she would never move for herself. The queen gave me great thanks; and this day I waited purposely on her, to give her thanks for her gracious acceptance. She was pleased to be very free with me, and to promise me freedom."—Diary of Arch. Laud.

yoke, and have renounced or dissembled the profession of the true religion."

Two things, it is said, were especially offensive to the archbishop in this address; in the first place, it had been intimated that the religion of the palatine churches and that of the English Church might be accounted the same; and in the next, "that the government of the Church of Rome was an antichristian yoke." On this he remarked, "that he was not to be told that by the religion of those churches all the Calvinian rigours, in the point of predestination, and the rest depending thereupon, were received as orthodox;" while, moreover, they maintained "a parity of ministers directly contrary both to the doctrine and government of the Church of England." He, therefore, judged that it would be "very unsafe that his majesty should declare, under the great seal of England, that both himself and all his subjects were bound in conscience to maintain the religion of those churches with all their power." In respect to the other point, he is said to have looked upon it "as a great controversy, not only between some protestant divines and the Church of Rome, but between the protestant divines themselves, hitherto not determined in any council, nor positively defined by the Church of England," and to have considered it as highly unsafe "that such a doubtful controversy as that of the pope's being antichrist should be determined positively by letters-patent under the great seal of England, of which there was great difference even amongst the learned, and not resolved on in the schools."*

At any period of less excitement, most men would have discovered in the archbishop's objections only that degree of caution which became his high station. It is somewhat remarkable that an instrument, like that alluded to, should have been drawn up and sealed without the notice of Laud. That it would have committed the English Church in a manner which wise and prudent men would have been far from approving, admits of little doubt: under many conceivable circumstances,

* Heylyn, Cyprian. *Anglic.*, part ii., p. 288.

its publication with the sanction of the archbishop would have excited against him a torrent of abuse. As it was, the affair only served to add to the suspicions already afloat; and it now became more and more evident, that whatever might be the acts of churchmen, they would be alike subject to fierce and indiscriminate opposition. Striking indications are given of the fears which Laud began to cherish, and of the conviction pressed upon him by numerous events, that things were laid to his charge which it was his duty to disprove by every means in his power. Thus, alluding to some reports with which the university was rife, he entreats the vice-chancellor to examine the matter, and discover "whether any Jesuits, or others, had lain hankering up and down thereabouts, or were there at the present to that purpose, or any other as bad;" and he adds, in a postscript, "This falls out very unhappily, not only for the thing itself, which ought by all means to be prevented, but also for the clamours which the late libellers have made, that there are great endeavours for re-introducing of popery."* Again: "Concerning the popish faction, I write hastily to you to prevent a danger which I thought was imminent, and God grant you may secure it! But in any case name not Fish, if you can possibly avoid it; but carry it as if the letter were intercepted, and be as careful as possibly you can. And concerning the puritan, I see plainly that Brazen-nose hath some as bad or worse than Cook was about four years since; and that Greenwood, who preached on Sunday last, is like to prove a peevish man, which I am the more sorry for, because you write he is a good master of his pen, and, therefore, like to do the more harm. But since he hath so cunningly carried it, for the fashion is now to turn the libellous part into a prayer, I think the best is to take no notice of it at all; but the more carefully to observe what the man doth in the university; for I would have no man publicly called in question, where a fair answer may be given and taken, that the peace both of the Church and of that place may be preserved as much as may be."† In a letter sent soon after he says,

* Diary, August 20, 1637.

† Ib., Sept. 1, 1637.

"I pray be very careful in this also, for I know the Jesuits are very cunning at these tricks," that is, in the secret preparation of dangerous publications.

Some time after, we find him writing, "I received a letter this last week from a reverend bishop in this kingdom, in which he complains that Amesius and Festus Hommius, though I think before your time, have been reprinted in the university. They are professed friends to the presbyterial government; and though they may speak and print what they please at Leyden or Amsterdam, yet methinks it is a great oversight to make them speak by ourselves and our presses, especially in the universities; for too many men in these broken times will be apt enough to say, that we allow and approve of that doctrine which we print by license. I pray speak with the printers, and let them know from me, that I will not allow them to print any book, though it hath been printed before, without new leave from the vice-chancellor for the time being; and that if they do print any thing without such leave, I will utterly suppress them."*

These are but expressions of caution. The sentiments of the archbishop, as entertained with a calm conviction of their truth, and as he would have stated them, it is probable, in conference with his nearest friend, are beautifully shown in his letter to Sir Kenelm Digby, when that distinguished person returned to the communion of Rome: "You write," says he, "that after you had fallen upon these troublesome thoughts, you were nigh two years in the diligent discussion of this matter; and that you omitted no industry, either of conversing with learned men, or of reading the best authors, to beget in you a right intelligence of this subject. I believe all this, and you did wisely to do it. But I have some questions, out of the freedom of a friend, to ask about it. Were not all the learned men you conversed with for this particular of the Roman party? Were not the best authors you mention of the same side? If both men and authors were the same way, can they beget any righter intelligence in you than

* Diary, Feb. 7, 1639.

is in themselves? If they were men and authors on both sides with whom you conversed, why was I, whom you are pleased to style one of your best friends, omitted? True, it may be, you could not reckon me among those learned men and able for direction with whom you conversed. Suppose that; yet yourself accounts me among your friends; and is it not many times as useful, when thoughts are distracted, to make use of the freedom and openness of a friend, not altogether ignorant, as of those which are thought more learned, but not so free, nor perhaps so indifferent?"

This was surely the wisdom of a thoughtful and experienced spirit. Further: "The result, you say, that first began to settle you was, that you discerned by this, your diligent conversation and studious reading, that there were great mistakings on both sides, and that passion and affection to a party transported too many of those that entered into the lists in this quarrel. Suppose this also to be true, I am heartily sorry, and have been ever since I was of any understanding in matters of religion, to hear of sides in the Church; and I make no doubt but it will one day fall heavy upon all, that wilfully make, or purposely continue, sidings in that body. But when sides are made, and continued, remember you confess there are great mistakings on both sides, and how, then, can you go from one side to the other, but you must go from one great mistaking to another? And if so, then, by changing the side, you do but change the mistaking, not quit yourself from mistakes. And if you do quit yourself from them by God's goodness and your own strength, yet why might not that have been done without changing the side, since mistakes are on both sides? As for the passion, and transportation of many that enter the lists of this quarrel, I am sure you mean not to make their passion your guide, for that would make you mistake indeed. And why, then, should their passion work upon your judgment? especially since the passion, as well as the mistakes, are confessed to be on both sides."

The archbishop, in the next place, examines the justification which Sir Kenelm offered: "And first, you say, you now perceive that you may preserve yourself in

that church (the Church of Rome) without having your belief bound up in several particulars, the dislike whereof had been a motive to you to free yourself from the jurisdiction which you conceived did impose them. It is true all churches have some particulars free. But doth that church leave you free to believe, or not believe, any thing determined in it? And did not your former dislike arise from some things determined in, and by, that church? And if so, what freedom see you now, that you saw not then? And you cannot well say that your dislike arose from any thing not determined, for in those the jurisdiction of that church imposes not. You add, that your greatest difficulties were solved when you could distinguish between the opinions of some new men, raised upon wrested inferences, and the plain and solid articles of faith delivered at the first. Why, but I cannot but be confident you could distinguish these long since, and long before you joined yourself to the Church of England; and that, therefore, your greatest difficulties, if these were they, were as fully and fairly solved then, as now they are, or can be. Besides, if by these plain and solid articles you mean none but the creed (and certainly no other were delivered at the first), you seem to intimate, by comparing this and the former passage, that so you believe these plain and first articles, you may preserve yourself in that church from having your belief bound up to other particulars, which I think few will believe besides yourself, if you can believe it. And the opinions of new men, and the wrested inferences upon these, are some of those great mistakes which you say are on both sides, and, therefore, needed not to have caused your change. To these first articles, you say the Church in no succeeding age hath power to add, as such, the least tittle of new doctrine. Be it so; and I believe it heartily, not as such, if you mean the articles of the creed. But yet if that church do maintain that all her decisions in a general council are articles *fidei catholicæ*, and that all Christians are bound to believe all and every one of them, *eadem fide, quâ fidei articulos*, and that he is an heretic which believes them not all, where is then your freedom, or your not being bound up in several particulars? And if you reply, you dislike no

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determination which that church hath made, then why did you formerly leave it, to free yourself from that jurisdiction that you conceived imposed them? For if the things which troubled you were particulars not determined, they were not imposed upon your belief. And if they were determined, and so imposed, how are you now set free more than then? You say again, you see now, that to be a catholic doth not deprive them of the forenamed liberty, who have abilities to examine the things you formerly stuck at, and drive them up to their first principles. But first, then, what shall become of their liberty who are not able to examine? Shall they enthrall their consciences? Next: what shall secure them who think themselves, and are perhaps thought by others, able to examine, yet indeed are not? Thirdly: what assurance is there in cases not demonstrable, as few things in religion are, that they which are able to examine have either no affection to blind their judgment, or may not mistake themselves and their way, in driving a doubtful point to its first principles? Lastly: how much doth this differ from leaning upon a private spirit, so much cried out against by that side, when men, under pretence of their ability, shall examine the tenets of the Church, and assume a liberty to themselves under colour of not being bound?"

Pursuing this important argument, he continues: "But you say, this is not the breaking of any obligation that the Church lays upon you, but only an exact understanding of the just and utmost obligations that side ties men to. I must here question again; for, first, what shall become of their freedom that cannot reach to this exact understanding? And next: do not you make yourself, as a private man, judge of the Church's obligations upon you? And is it not as great an usurpation upon the Church's power and right to be judge of her obligations as of her tenets? For if the points be left free, there is no obligation; nor can you, or need any other, have any scruple. But if the points be binding by the predetermination of the Church, can you any way be judge of her obligation, but you must be judge also of the point to which she obliges? Now, I think

that the Church will hardly give liberty to any private man to be so far her judge, since she scarce allows so much to any, as *judicium discretionis*, in things determined by her. These utmost obligations to which that side ties men, you believe many men, and not of the meanest note, pass over in gross, without ever thoroughly entering into the due consideration thereof. And truly I believe so too, that among too many men on both sides, neither the points nor the obligations to them are weighed as they ought. But that is no warrant, pardon my freedom, that yourself hath considered them in all circumstances, or that you have considered them better now than you did before, when the dislike of that imposing jurisdiction was your first motive to free yourself from it by joining to the Church of England. And whereas you say, that you have returned into that communion, who from your birth had right of possession in you, and, therefore, ought to continue it, unless clear and evident proof, which you say surely cannot be found, should have evicted you from it: truly, sir, I think this had been spoken with more advantage to you and your cause before your adhering to the Church of England than now, for then right of possession could not have been thought little. But now, since you deserted that communion, either you did it upon clear and evident proof, or upon apparent only. If you did it, then, upon clear and evident proof, why say you now no such can be found? If you did it but upon apparent and seeming proof, a semblance of very good reason, as yourself calls it, why did you then come off from that communion till your proof were clear and evident? And why may not that, which now seems clear and evident, be but apparent, as well as that, which then seemed clear unto you, be but semblance now? Nor would I have you say, that clear and evident proof cannot be found for a man, in this case of religion, to forego the communion which had right of possession in him from his birth; for the proposition is an universal negative, and of hard proof. And, therefore, though I think I know you and your judgment so well, that I may not, without manifest wrong, charge you, that you did in this great action, and

so nearly concerning you, *ad pauca respicere*, which our great master tells us breeds facile and easy, rather than safe and warrantable determinations, yet it will be upon you not only in honour without, but also in conscience within, to be able to assure yourself that you did, *ad plurima*, if not *ad omnia respicere*. The thing being so weighty in itself, and the miserable division of Christendom, never sufficiently to be lamented, making the doubt so great, that you, who have been on both sides, must needs be under the dispute of both sides, whether this last act of yours be not in you rather a relapse into a former sickness, than a recovery from a former fall."

Sir Kenelm having expressed himself as fully prepared to bear the censure which his conduct might provoke, the archbishop says, "In this I must needs say you are happy, for he that can be moved from himself by the changeable breath of men, lives more out of than in himself, and, which is a misery beyond all expression, must in all doubts go to other men for resolution, not to himself, as if he had no soul within him. But yet *post conscientiam fama*. And though I would not desire to live by reputation, yet would I leave no good means untried rather than live without it. And how far you have brought yourself in question, which of these two, conscience or reputation, you have spoken by this double change, I leave yourself to judge; because you say your first was with a semblance of very good reason. And though you say again, that it now appears you were then misled, yet you will have much ado to make the world think so."

Alluding to the care which Sir Kenelm took to keep his proceedings secret, the archbishop observes, "And as are these reasons, so is the whole frame of your letter, setting aside that I cannot concur in judgment, full of discretion and temper, and so like yourself that I cannot but love even that which I dislike in it. And though I shall never be other than I have been to the worth of Sir Kenelm Digby, yet most heartily sorry I am, that a man whose discourse did so much content me should thus slide away from me, before I had so

much as suspicion to awaken me, and suggest that he was going. Had you put me into a dispensation, and communicated your thoughts to me before they had grown up into resolutions, I am a priest, and would have put on what secrecy you should have commanded. A little knowledge I have—God knows, a little; I would have ventured it with you in that serious debate you have had with yourself. I have ever honoured you, since I knew your worth; and I would have done all offices of a friend to keep you nearer than now you are. But since you are gone, and settled another way, before you would let me know it, I know not now what to say to a man of judgment, and so resolved; for to what end should I treat, when a resolution is set already,—so set as that you say no clear and evident proof can be found against it: nor can I tell how to press such a man as you to ring the changes in religion. In your power it was not to change; in mine it is not to make you change again. Therefore to the moderation of your own heart, under the grace of God, I must and do now leave you for matter of religion; but retaining still with me, and entirely, all the love and friendliness which your worth won from me, well knowing, that all differences in opinion shake not the foundations of religion.”

There is much in the tone and language of this letter eminently calculated to rebut the more serious part of the charges made against Laud. In the conclusion, he speaks with a feeling which goes far towards inspiring the belief that the less amiable portion of his character was the fruit rather of circumstances than of nature: “To this I can say no more, than that I could never arrogate to myself to be your best friend: but a poor, yet respective friend of yours I have been ever since I knew you; and it is not your change that can change me, who never yet left but where I was first forsaken, and not always there.” In the postscript he alludes to the authorities on which his observations had been founded: “I have writ this letter freely. I shall look upon all the trust that ever you mean to carry with me, that you shew it not, nor deliver any copy to any man. Nor will I look for any answer to the queries I have

herein made. If they do you any good I am gläd ; if not, yet I have satisfied myself. But leisure I have none, to write such letters ; nor will I entertain a quarrel in this wrangling age ; and now my strength is past. For all things of moment in this letter, I have pregnant places in the Council of Trent, Thomas, Bellarmin, Stapleton, Valentia, &c."

The temper of men's minds in Scotland exhibited, at this time, startling signs of approaching convulsions. So far, however, were the ecclesiastical rulers of England from acknowledging the necessity of extreme caution and tenderness, that measures were brought forward which, however good in themselves, served but to create a further and more dangerous irritation. It had long been the desire of Laud and others to introduce the English liturgy, without abridgment, into the Church of Scotland. By the aid of Weederburn, who received sudden and high preferment, the way seemed open for the accomplishment of this object. But it was found that insuperable prejudices existed in the minds of many of the higher clergy, as well as in those of the people, against the adoption of the English ritual. Laud, therefore, saw himself compelled to submit to a modification of his scheme ; and a liturgy was drawn up in which some things were sacrificed to the wishes of the Scotch clergy, but the whole plan and main body of which were in close agreement with that of England. Thus it was generally ordered, "that every prayer or office, through the whole communion, should be named in the rubric before it, that the parts of the services might be better distinguished to the congregation ; that the *invitation, confession, absolution, sentences, prefaces, and doxology*, should be set in the same order they stand in in the English liturgy ; and that the prayer of humble access to the holy table might stand immediately before receiving."

In the service here alluded to, the omission of some few words caused more offence than the greater part of the form itself. "Take and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thine heart, by faith, with thanksgiving." This sentence was

considered as a sufficient safeguard against the doctrine of transubstantiation, and its omission was accordingly regarded as an indication of want of sincerity, or, at the best, of discretion, in the defence of the Church against Romish error.*

The form of consecration of bishops and priests, as hitherto used in Scotland, seemed to want many of the essentials of such a rite. It was, therefore, required, that in the ordination of presbyters, the words, "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands, &c.," should no longer be omitted, and that such other alterations should be made as were calculated to bring the service to a nearer conformity with the Church's rule and doctrine.

When the book was completed according to the plan laid down, Charles issued his proclamation authorizing, or rather commanding, its adoption throughout the country. "Forasmuch," says this instrument, "as we, ever since our entry to the imperial crown of this our antient kingdom of Scotland, especially since our late being here in the same, have divers times recommended to the archbishops and bishops here, the publishing of a public form of service, in the worship of God, which we would have uniformly observed therein; and the same being now condescended upon, although we doubt not but all our subjects, both clergy and others, will receive the said public form of service with such reverence as appertaineth, yet thinking it necessary to make our pleasure known, touching the authorizing of the book thereof, our will is, and we charge you straitly and command, that incontinent these our letters seen, you pass, and in our name and authority command and charge all our subjects, both ecclesiastical and civil, by open proclamation at the market-crosses of the head boroughs of this our kingdom, and other places needful, to conform themselves to the said public form of worship, which is the only form which we, having taken the counsel of

* Fuller, b. xi., p. 162. So also the order to wrap up what remained of the consecrated elements in a fair linen cloth, or *corporal*, was said to be given that the cloth might "wrap up all Romish superstition of Christ's carnal corporal presence in the sacrament."—Ib.

our clergy, think fit to be used in God's public worship in this our kingdom, commanding also all archbishops and bishops, and other presbyters and churchmen, to take a special care that the same be duly obeyed and observed, and the contraveners condignly censured and punished, and to have special care that every parish, betwixt this and Pasch next, procure unto themselves two at least of the said books of Common Prayer for the use of the parish. The which, to do, we commit to you, conjunctly and severally, our full power."

A measure more innocent or becoming in itself had never been proposed by Laud or his associates; but it betrayed, like most others from the same source, either an utter want of judgment, or a most odious contempt for the feelings and long-indulged sentiments of almost an entire nation. The most extraordinary circumstance in the proceeding is the want of respect for the authority of the Church itself, or, at least, of a constituent portion of the Church. But Laud was like many other supposed high-churchmen; and appears to have forgotten, that as much harm is done to the independence and integrity of the Church when covertly assailed by churchmen, as when attacked by dissenters or schismatics. Thus it was proposed to accomplish the introduction of the English liturgy, not by those means which the solemn consent of the Church would have afforded, but by royal proclamation, and the artifices of statesmen and politicians. However deeply the hearts of churchmen might have been moved by the appeal which almost every page of the liturgy was calculated to make to their sympathies and affections, the very same dispositions were insulted, and converted into antipathies, by the rude tyranny which forced them into the belief, that to adopt the new liturgy would be equivalent to the surrender of their dearest rights.

An awful rapidity marked the progress of events from this epoch. The great body of the Scotch people entered gladly into the plans of the English puritans; and at the head of all appeared the House of Commons, becoming daily more determined and fearless in its opposition to the authority of government. Laud openly confessed his alarm for the safety of the Church, and in his address

to the houses of convocation assembled in 1640, expressed himself in a manner that clearly proved the distress under which he laboured. But even now fresh cause of anxiety was created. The archbishop came, with the king's authority, to frame other canons, and such was his pertinacity on the subject, that though parliament had been suddenly dissolved, he persevered in the design of introducing the new regulations. Many of the members of convocation trembled at the hardihood of this procedure. They represented that it was against the law to continue in convocation after the dissolution of parliament, and that the worst consequences might attend the violation of such a rule when every act of churchmen was regarded with so much jealousy. Laud, however, had the king and the crown lawyers on his side; and though thirty-six of the members of convocation persisted in maintaining their original opinions on the subject, he proceeded with the business in hand.

Among the new canons, the most important was that which enjoined the oath for the preventing of all innovations in doctrine and government;* and as Laud was the author of these new laws, it affords another striking proof of his anxiety, at this time, to protect both himself, and the clergy at large, from the suspicion of romanism. The only prelate who refused to confirm the canons was Goodman, bishop of Gloucester,† who

* The divine right of kings was not less hatefully regarded than that of bishops; but the canon says, "We ordain and decree that every parson, vicar, curate or preacher, upon one Sunday in every quarter of the year, in the place where he serves, shall read the following explanation of the regal power: 'That the most high and sacred order of kings is of divine right, being the ordinance of God himself, founded in the prime laws of nature and revelation, by which the supreme power over all persons civil and ecclesiastical is given to them.'"

† Of this bishop, it is said, in an early part of Charles's reign, that he had stayed long enough in his diocese to be as weary of the diocese as the diocese was of him; and that he offered a bribe, which he lost, to be translated to Hereford. When he refused, in convocation, to subscribe the new canons, the archbishop, it is said, was highly offended, and exclaimed, "*My lord of Gloucester, I admonish you to subscribe;*" and presently after, "*My lord of Gloucester, I admonish you the second time to subscribe;*" and immediately after, "*I admonish you the third time to subscribe:*" to all which the bishop pleaded conscience, and returned a denial. He was suspended and sent to prison, but consenting after some time to subscribe, was restored to his liberty and rights.—Fuller, b. xi., p. 170. Heylyn, Cyprian. Anglic., part ii., p. 4.

had not only been long suspected of attachment to the papacy, but declared himself, on his death-bed, in actual communion with Rome.

A vast number of trifling objections were soon after urged against the oath alluded to.* The &c. following the word *archdeacons* was represented as inserted for some dangerous purpose; and though the plainest and most reasonable explanation was given of the obnoxious sign, and it was shown to be limited in meaning by the context, nothing sufficed to stop the clamour which had been excited.

On the re-assembling of parliament, no time was lost in bringing to an issue the most solemn questions of religion and policy. The spirit in which these inquiries were commenced was hostile to the principles of fair discussion. Inquiry had been anticipated by popular prejudice, and the hatred of existing institutions was more than enough to outweigh any evidence in their favour. Almost the first word spoken in the re-assembled parliament was directed against the late proceedings in the convocation. These formed a fair theme for discussion; but the real intentions of the predominant party were shown in a far more direct way on mention being made of the authority of bishops. The debates which thence arose gave not merely a signal of the approaching storm, but formed a part of the storm itself.

It had been long foreseen, that whenever the puritans acquired the position which they were labouring to attain, their first attack would be made upon the episcopal order. This was so clearly understood by Laud, that

* "I, A. B., do swear, that I do approve the doctrine and discipline, or government, established in the Church of England, as containing all things necessary to salvation, and that I will not endeavour, by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any popish doctrine contrary to that which is so established; nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of this Church, by archbishops, bishops, deans and archdeacons, &c., as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand, nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpations and superstitions of the see of Rome. And all these things do I plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation or mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever."

he engaged the zeal and learning of Hall, then bishop of Exeter, to write a treatise in defence of episcopacy. What was the character of the opponents with whom he had to deal is sufficiently apparent from the bold statement of one of their leaders, whose words were, "that it is false that the universal practice of the Church is sufficient to prove any thing to be of apostolic origin;" and that, "the universal practice of the Church, and consent of the fathers, is the only darling of the abettors of the hierarchy; but the practice of the Church, immediately after the apostles, is no evidence."

In answer to this, the pious prelate expresses himself in language which was doubtless an echo to the feelings devoutly cherished by the most sober and spiritual, as well as the most dignified portion of the community. "Hear now, my dear brethren," he says, "all ye, who would pretend to any Christian ingenuity; and consider, whether you have not reason to distrust such a leader, as would persuade you to slight and reject the testimony and practice of the whole Church of God upon earth, from the first plantation of it to this present age, and to cast yourselves upon the private opinions of himself, and some few other men of yesterday. Surely, in very matter of doctrine, this could be no other than deeply suspicious, than foully odious. If no man, before Luther or Calvin, had excepted against those points wherein we differ from Rome, I should have hated to follow them: how much more must this needs hold in matter of fact! Judge what a shame it is, to hear a Christian divine carelessly shaking off all arguments drawn from antiquity, continuance, perpetual succession in and from apostolic churches, unanimous consent, universal practice of the Church; immediate practice of all the churches succeeding the apostles, as either popish or nothing; and all these are acknowledged for our grounds, and are not popish! For me, I profess I could not, without blushing and astonishment, read such stuff: as confounded in myself to see that any son of the Church should be not only so rebelliously unnatural to his holy mother, as to broach so putrid a doctrine to her

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utter disparagement; but so contumelious also to the Spirit of God, in his providence for the dear spouse of his Saviour here upon earth.”*

Again: “ But can I now forbear to ask, who can endure to hear the braying of this proud schismatic? For the love of God, dear brethren, mark the spirit of these men; and if you can think it a reasonable suggestion to believe that all antient histories are false, all the holy and learned fathers of the Church ignorant and erroneous; and that none ever saw or spake the truth, not of doctrine only, but not of fact, until now that these men sprang up; follow them, and rely upon their absolute and unerring authority; but, if you have a mind to make use of your senses and reason, and not to suffer yourselves to be wilfully besotted with a blind and absurd prejudice, hate this intolerable insolence; and resolve to believe, that many witnesses are rather to be believed than none at all; that credible, judicious, holy witnesses are rather to be trusted, for the report of their own times, than some giddy corner-creeping upstarts, which came dropping in some sixteen hundred years after.”†

Bishop Hall’s book had been in circulation about a year, when the parliament was called upon to consider whether episcopacy ought not to be wholly abolished. The speeches delivered during the continuance of this debate exhibit the spirit of puritanism in its worst forms. Their authors had been prepared for the discussion by the famous treatise of Smectymnus;‡ and the address from fifteen thousand of the people of London, known by the title of “ The Root and Branch Petition,” gave them more than they needed of additional wrath and spleen. In this famous petition it is said, “ That whereas the government of archbishops and lord bishops, deans and archdeacons, &c., with their courts and ministrations in

* Works, vol. x., p. 162.

† Ib. p. 172.

‡ A name formed of the initials of the real authors, Stephen Marshal, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen and William Spurstow. Hall was the writer chiefly aimed at in the pamphlets of these authors, but Neal says, “ that the controversy between these divines might have been compromised, if the rest of the clergy had been of the same spirit and temper with Bishop Hall.”—History of Puritans, vol. II., p. 354.

them, have proved prejudicial, and very dangerous to the Church and commonwealth; they themselves having formerly held, that they have their jurisdiction or power of human authority, till of late they have claimed their calling immediately from Christ, which is against the laws of this kingdom, and derogatory to his majesty's state royal. And whereas the said government is found, by woful experience, to be a main cause and occasion of many foul evils, pressures, and grievances, of a very high nature, to his majesty's subjects, in their consciences, liberties, and estates, as in a schedule of particulars hereunto annexed, may in part appear; we therefore most humbly pray and beseech this honourable assembly, the premises considered, that the said government with all its dependences, roots and branches, may be abolished, and all the laws in their behalf made void, and that the government, according to God's Word, may be rightly placed among us." *

A counter petition to the above was soon after presented to the house, the several articles of which were sufficiently strong and explicit to prove, that not the slightest hope could be entertained, by the puritans, of frightening the Church party into any modification of its views, on the character and jurisdiction of bishops. "We do humbly represent," said these petitioners, "First, That episcopacy is as antient as Christianity itself in this kingdom. Secondly, That bishops were the chief instruments in the reformation of the Church against popery, and afterward the most eminent martyrs for the protestant religion, and since, the best and ablest champions for the defence of it. Thirdly, That since the Reformation the times have been very peaceable, happy, and glorious, notwithstanding the episcopal government in the Church; and therefore, that this government can be no cause of our unhappiness. Fourthly, We conceive that not only many learned, but divers

* History of Puritans, vol. ii., p. 357. The schedule alluded to enumerated twenty-eight grievances, among which were especially mentioned the suspensions and deprivations suffered by the non-conforming clergy, the discouragement given to preaching, the claim of the bishops to *jus divinum*, the administration of the oath *ex-officio*, and the exorbitant power allowed to the high commission. Rushworth, Part III., vol. i., p. 93.

other godly persons would be much scandalized and troubled in conscience, if the government of episcopacy, conceived by them to be an apostolical institution, were altered; and since there is so much care, taken that no man should be offended in the least ceremony, we hope there will be some, that such men's consciences may not be pressed upon in a matter of a higher nature and consequence, especially considering that this government by episcopacy is not only lawful and convenient for edification, but likewise suitable to, and agreeable with, the civil policy and government of this state. Fifthly, That this government is lawful, it appears by the immediate, universal, and constant, practice of all the Christian world, grounded upon Scripture, from the apostles' time to this last age, for above fifteen hundred years together, it being utterly incredible, if not impossible, that the whole Church, for so long a time, should not discover, by God's Word, this government to be unlawful, if it had been so; to which may be added, that the most learned Protestants, even in those very churches which now are not governed by bishops, do not only hold the government by episcopacy to be lawful, but wish that they themselves might enjoy it."

Still further, "That the government by episcopacy is not only lawful, but convenient for edification, and as much or more conducing to piety and devotion than any other, it appears, because no modest man denies that the primitive times were most famous for piety, constancy, and perseverance, in the faith, notwithstanding more frequent and more cruel persecutions than ever have been since, and yet it is confessed that the Church in those times was governed by bishops."

And in conclusion, "That the government of the Church by episcopacy is most suitable to the form and frame of the civil government here in this kingdom, it appears by the happy and flourishing union of them both for so long a time together; whereas, no man can give us an assurance how any church government besides this, whereof we have had so long experience, will suit and agree with the civil policy of this state. And we conceive it may be of dangerous consequence

for men of settled fortunes, to hazard their estates, by making so great an alteration, and venturing upon a new form of government, whereof neither we nor our ancestors have had any trial or experience, especially considering that those who would have episcopacy to be abolished, have not yet agreed, nor, as we are verily persuaded, ever will or can agree upon any other common form of government to succeed in the room of it; as appears by the many different and contrary draughts and platforms they have made and published, according to the several humours and sects of those that made them; whereas, seeing every great alteration in a church or state must needs be dangerous, it is just and reasonable, that whosoever would introduce a new form instead of an old one, should be obliged to demonstrate and make it evidently appear aforehand, that the government he would introduce is proportionably so much better than that he would abolish, as may recompense the loss we may sustain, and may be worthy of the hazard we must run in abolishing the one, and introducing and settling of the other; but this we are confident can never be done, in regard of this particular."

"And, therefore, our humble and earnest request to this honourable house, is, that as well in this consideration, as all the other aforesaid, we may still enjoy that government which most probably holds its institution from the apostles, and most certainly its plantation with our Christian faith itself in this kingdom, where it hath ever since flourished, and continued for many ages without any interruption or alteration; whereby it plainly appears, that as it is the most excellent government in itself, so it is the most suitable, most agreeable, and every way most proportionable, to the civil constitution and temper of this state; and therefore we pray and hope, will always be continued and preserved in it and by it, notwithstanding the abuses and corruptions which in so long a tract of time, through the errors or negligence of men, have crept into it; which abuses and corruptions being all of them, what and how many soever there may be, but merely accidental to episcopacy, we conceive and hope there may be a

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reformation of the one, without a destruction of the other."

This petition was followed by another presented in the name of seven hundred clergymen, and known as "the ministers' petition." The corruptions of episcopacy were freely detailed in this address; but the institution was described as having claims which ought to limit whatever was done in respect to it to the correction of abuses, and some salutary limitations of power.

Sir Henry Vane, Bagshaw, and others entered, on the presenting of these petitions, into an examination of the grounds on which, they were pleased to consider, the authority of the bishops rested. But Lord Falkland took a more popular line of argument, and described episcopacy as the main source of the evils under which the country was now labouring. "He is a great stranger in our Israel," said he, "who knows not that this kingdom has long laboured under many and great oppressions, both in religion and liberty; and that a principal cause of both has been, some bishops and their adherents, who, under pretence of uniformity, have brought in superstition, and scandal under the title of decency; who have defiled our church by adorning our churches, and slackened the strictness of that union that was between us and those of our religion beyond sea; an action both unpolitic and ungodly. They have been less eager on those who damn our Church, than on those who, on weak conscience and perhaps as weak reason, only abstain from it. Nay, it has been more dangerous for men to go to a neighbouring parish when they had no sermon in their own, than to be obstinate and perpetual recusants. While mass has been said in security, a conventicle has been a crime; and, which is yet more, the conforming to ceremonies has been more enacted than the conforming to Christianity...."

"Mr. Speaker, they have resembled the dog in the fable, they have neither practised themselves, nor employed those that should, nor suffered those that would. They have brought in catechising only to thrust out preaching; cried down lectures by the name of faction, either because other men's industry in that duty

appeared a reproof to their neglect, or with intent to have brought in darkness, that they might the easier sow their tares while it was night. In this they have abused his majesty as well as his people, for when he had with great wisdom silenced on both parts those opinions that will always trouble the schools, they made use of this declaration to tie up one side and let the other loose. The truth is, Mr. Speaker, as some ministers in our state first took away our money, and afterward endeavoured to make our money not worth taking, by depraving it; so these men first depressed the power of preaching, and then laboured to make it such, as the harm had not been much if it had been depressed; the chief subjects of the sermons being, the *jus divinum* of bishops and tithes; the sacredness of the clergy; the sacrilege of impropriations; the demolishing of Puritanism; the building up of the prerogative, &c. In short, their work has been to try how much of the papist might be brought in without popery, and to destroy as much as they could of the gospel, without bringing themselves in danger of being destroyed by the law.

“ Mr. Speaker, these men have been betrayers of our rights and liberties, by encouraging such men as Dr. Beal and Manwaring; by appearing for monopolies and ship-money; some of them have laboured to exclude all persons and causes of the clergy from the temporal magistrate, and by hindering prohibitions, to have taken away the only legal bounds to their arbitrary power; they have encouraged all the clergy to suits, and have brought all suits to the council table, that having all power in ecclesiastical matters, they might have an equal power in temporals; they have both kindled and blown the common fire of both nations, and have been the first and principal cause of the breach since the pacification of Berwick.”

Next follows the most important acknowledgment that could have fallen from the lips of such a speaker; the injustice to the individuals alluded to, being rendered of comparatively slight moment by the implied confession of the sacredness of episcopacy itself. “ I have

represented," says he, "no small quantity, and no mean degree, of guilt, but this charge does not lie against episcopacy, but against the persons who have abused that sacred function; for if we consider, that the first spreaders of Christianity, the first defenders of it, both with their ink and blood, as well as our late reformers, were all bishops; and even now, in this great defection of the order, there are some that have been neither proud nor ambitious; some that have been learned opposers of Popery, and zealous suppressers of Arminianism, between whom and their inferior clergy there has been no distinction in frequent preaching; whose lives are untouched, not only by guilt, but by malice; I say, if we consider this, we shall conclude that bishops may be good men, and let us but give good men good rules, and we shall have good government and good times.

I am content to take away from them all those things which may, in any degree of possibility, occasion the like mischiefs with those I have mentioned: I am sure neither their lordships, judging of tithes, wills, and marriages, no, nor their voices in parliament, are *jure divino*. If their revenues are too great, let us leave them only such proportion as may serve, in some good degree, for the support of the dignity of learning and encouragement of students. If it be found they will employ their laws against their weaker brethren, let us take away those laws, and let no ceremonies which any number count unlawful, and no man counts necessary, be imposed upon them; but let us not abolish, upon a few days' debate, an order that has lasted in most churches these sixteen hundred years. I do not believe the order of bishops to be *jure divino*, nor do I think them unlawful; but since all great changes in government are dangerous, I am for trying if we cannot take away the inconveniences of bishops, and the inconveniences of no bishops. Let us therefore, go upon the debate of grievances, and if the grievances may be taken away, and the order stand, we shall not need to commit the London petition at all; but if it shall appear that the abolition of the one cannot be but by the destruction of the other, then let us not commit the London petition, but grant it."

Lord Falkland's speech is a fair specimen of the manner in which this grave and important subject was treated by the puritans in parliament. But however plainly the spirit of wrath and prejudice discovers itself in the majority of their arguments, nothing which they said was more calculated to surprise, or perhaps injure, the high church party than passages in the speech of Lord Digby. Whether that conspicuous debater spoke in simple sincerity, or did but intend to flatter the prejudices of his hearers that he might the better carry his ulterior designs, may be matter of conjecture. He, however, openly proclaimed the bishops guilty of the most monstrous usurpations, and exclaimed, "For my part, I am so inflamed with these things, that I am ready to cry, with the loudest of the fifteen thousand, 'Down with them to the ground!'" "But," he continued, "we must divest ourselves of passion; we all agree a reformation of church government is necessary; but, before I can strike at the root, and agree to a total extirpation of episcopacy, it must be made manifest to me, first, that the mischiefs we have felt arise from the nature of episcopacy, and not from its abuse. Secondly, such a form of government must be set before us as is not liable to proportionable inconveniences. Thirdly, it must appear that the Utopia is practicable. Let us, therefore, lay aside the thoughts of extirpating bishops, and reduce them to their primitive standard; let us retrench their dioceses; let them govern by assemblies of their clergy; let us exclude them from intermeddling in secular affairs, and appoint a standing committee to collect all the grievances of the Church, and no man's votes shall be given with more zeal for redressing them than mine."*

The fate of Strafford, the infamous impeachment of the bishops, the violations of every principle of law and justice which followed almost immediately on this opening of the Long Parliament, are familiar to every reader of history. They would excite but unmingled sentiments of indignation and disgust, were it not for the striking evidence, which they incidentally afford, of

* Neal, vol. II., p. 368.—Rushworth, part III., vol. I., p. 173-184.

the existence of a sentiment of vital piety for which few of the sufferers in these calamities would have received credit, had they been left untried and untortured. The conduct of Laud himself was grave and dignified. From his being carried to the tower in Mr. Maxwell's coach, when the wretched rabble in Cheapside poured torrents of abuse upon him, to the moment when he laid his head upon the block, all was calm and noble; and though we account it a most serious error against historical truth to represent him as either a good counsellor or a true patriot, and a far heavier offence against propriety to call him either saint or martyr, it ought not to be denied, that the last days of his life afford ample proof that, under happier circumstances, he might have become in the sight of all men what he is now only said to have been by his admirers and eulogists.

Laud was spared long enough to see the Church and its ministers stripped, as far as a temporal power could effect it, of their possessions and dignities. Deans and chapters were voted as useless; and the attendance of bishops in parliament was represented as alike injurious to the interests of religion and the freedom of the state. Solemn protestations, leagues and covenants, were invented to supply the place of antient laws; and the men who proved themselves ready, at a moment, to overthrow institutions which the wisdom and piety of ages had consecrated, offered their will-worship, and holocausts of fanatical vows, to the creations of a few bold leaders of a political revolution.

With whatever want of moderation Laud and his followers were chargeable, the main offence of which they were accused, the desire, that is, to introduce popery, could be proved against them by no evidence which their bitterest enemies had to bring. Guilty they had been of many things which both the caution and the tenderness of an evangelical spirit should have taught them to avoid; but though the sin of persecution were proved against them with a thousand-fold force, and though instances were multiplied, without number, of their attempt to establish practices not agreeable to the genius of their age, this would still be far from

showing that they had formed a plot to change the religion of the country, or that they were wanting in sincere, dutiful and earnest affection to the Established Church.

Laud's simple declaration at his trial will ever be sufficient with most men of ingenuous mind to outweigh, and that immeasurably, the charges of both his judges and his accusers. His grandeur at this time had passed away. A three years' imprisonment, with nothing but his own thoughts to comfort or support him, had rendered him, we may believe, familiar with the teachings of conscience, and the spirit of truth. He was now, moreover, an aged man; and continually before his eyes was the awful prospect of the ruin of his country, and of the Church, which he venerated with the love of a most devoted child. To suppose that under the impressions which a host of such circumstances would necessarily produce, the persecuted, suffering prelate could have spoken with premeditated falsehood, is opposed to the commonest sentiments of respect for human nature. "I am as innocent," were his solemn words, "in the business of religion, as free from all practice, or so much as thought of practice, for any alteration unto popery, or any blemishing of the true protestant religion established in England, as I was when my mother first bore me into the world. And let nothing be spoken but truth; and I do here re-challenge whatsoever is between heaven and hell, that can be said against me in point of my religion, in which I have ever hated dissimulation. And had I not hated it, perhaps I might have been better for worldly safety than now I am. But it can no way become a Christian bishop to halt with God. Lastly, if I had a purpose to blast the true religion established in the Church of England, and to introduce popery, sure I took a wrong way to it. For, my lords, I have staid more going to Rome, and reduced more that were already gone, than I believe any bishop or divine in this kingdom hath done; and some of them men of great abilities and some persons of great place. And is this the way to introduce popery! My lords, if I have blemished the true protestant religion, how could

I have brought these men to it? And if I had promised to introduce popery, I should never have reduced these men from it." Having given a list of those whom he had "settled in the true protestant religion" established in England; having himself "converted them," he adds, "and now let any clergyman in England come forth, and give a better account of his zeal to the Church."*

On the scaffold itself, he said, "I was born and baptized in the bosom of the Church of England, established by law. In that profession I have ever since lived, and in that I come to die. This is no time to dissemble God, least of all in matters of religion; and, therefore, I desire it may be remembered I have always lived in the protestant religion established in England, and in that I come now to die. What clamours and slanders I have endured for labouring to keep an uniformity in the external service of God, according to the doctrine and discipline of the Church, all men know, and I have abundantly felt. Now, at last, I am accused of high treason in parliament, a crime which my soul ever abhorred. This treason was charged to consist of two parts: an endeavour to subvert the laws of the land, and a like endeavour to overthrow the true protestant religion established by law.† Besides my answers to the several charges, I protested my innocence in both houses. It was said, prisoners' protestations at the bar must not be taken. I can bring no witness of my heart and the intentions thereof; therefore I must come to my

* Heylyn, Cyprian. *Anglic.*, part ii., p. 585.

† The king expressed himself in the same manner as Laud respecting Protestantism: "I do require and intreat you," he said, writing to his son, "as your father and your king, that you never suffer your heart to receive the least check against, or disaffection from, the true religion established in the Church of England. I tell you I have tried it; and after much search, and many disputes, have concluded it to be the best in the world, not only in the community as Christian, but also in the special notion as reformed, keeping the middle way between the pomp of superstitious tyranny, and the meanness of fantastic anarchy." . . . "The scandal of the late troubles which some may object and urge to you against the protestant religion established in England, is easily answered to them or your own thoughts in this, that scarce any one who hath been a beginner, or an active prosecutor of this late war against the Church, the laws and me, either was or is a true lover, embracer or practiser of the Protestant religion established in England, which neither gives such rules, nor ever before set such examples,"

protestation, not at the bar, but my protestation of this hour and instant of my death, in which I hope all men will be such charitable Christians as not to think I would die and dissemble, being instantly to give God an account for the truth of it; I do, therefore, here, in the presence of God, and his holy angels, take it upon my death, that I never endeavoured the subversion of law or religion; and I desire you all to remember this protest of mine for my innocency in this, and from all treasons whatsoever. I have been accused likewise as an enemy to parliaments. No! I understand them, and the benefit that comes by them, too well, to be so. But I did mislike the misgovernments of some parliaments many ways, and I had good reason for it; for *corruptio optimi est pessima*; there is no corruption in the world so bad as that which is of the best thing within itself; for the better the thing is in nature, the worse it is corrupted. And that being the highest court, over which no other hath jurisdiction, when it is misinformed or misgoverned, the subject is left without all remedy. But I have done; I forgive all the world, all and every of those bitter enemies which have persecuted me; and humbly desire to be forgiven of God first, and then of every man, whether I have offended him or not. If he do but conceive that I have, Lord, do thou forgive me, and I beg forgiveness of him. And so I heartily desire you to join in prayer with me.”*

* “O eternal God, and merciful Father, look down upon me in mercy, in the riches and fulness of all thy mercies look down upon me; but not till thou hast nailed my sins to the cross of Christ; not till thou hast bathed me in the blood of Christ; not till I have hid myself in the wounds of Christ: that so the punishment due unto my sins may pass over me. And since thou art pleased to try me to the utmost, I humbly beseech thee, give me now in this great instant, full patience, proportionable comfort, and a heart ready to die for thine honour, the king's happiness, and this Church's preservation. And my zeal to this (far from arrogance be it spoken) is all the sin (human frailty excepted, and all the incidents thereunto,) which is yet known to me in this particular, for which I now come to suffer, I say in this particular of treason; but otherwise my sins are many and great; Lord, pardon them all, and those especially (whatever they are) which have drawn down this present judgment upon me: and when thou hast given me strength to bear it, do with me as seems best in thine own eyes: and carry me through death that I may look upon it in what visage soever it shall appear to me. Amen. And that there may be a stop of this issue of blood in this more miserable kingdom, I shall desire that I may pray for the people too, as well as for myself. O Lord, I beseech thee, give grace of repentance to all blood-thirsty

As he prepared himself for the fatal stroke, he said, "God's will be done. I am willing to go out of this world: none can be more willing to send me." The self-possession which he enjoyed to the last was singularly evinced on his observing that the boards of the platform on which he stood, and where the block was placed, were not perfectly joined. Seeing through the chinks that some persons were standing just under the block, he requested the attendants to stop the apertures with dust, or to warn the people away, remarking, that it was no part of his desires that his blood should fall upon the heads of the people. He at the same time begged the persons who pressed around him, to afford him "room to die." But the peace which he coveted for the few minutes which remained of his earthly life was only grudgingly accorded him; and Sir John Clotworthy rudely asked him, "what was the most comfortable saying which a dying man could have in his mouth?" To this he meekly answered, "*Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo.*" This not satisfying his interrogator, he was next asked, "what was the fittest speech a man could use to express his confidence and assurance?" He replied in the same calm temper as before, "that such assurance was to be found within, and that no words were able to express it rightly."

Finding that he was likely to be pressed with further questions, and that his answers gave but little satisfaction, he turned to the executioner, as seeking relief at his hands, and presenting him with some money, said, "Here, honest friend: God forgive thee, and I do: do thy office upon me with mercy." Then kneeling down, he prayed thus: "Lord, I am coming as fast as I can:

people, but if they will not repent, O Lord, confound all their devices, defeat and frustrate all their designs and endeavours upon them; which are or shall be contrary to the glory of thy great name, the truth and sincerity of religion, the establishment of the king and his posterity after him in their just rights and privileges, the honour and conversation of parliaments in their just power, the preservation of this poor Church in her truth, peace and patrimony, and the settlement of this distracted, and distressed people, under their antient laws, and in their native liberty. And when thou hast done all in this mere mercy to them, O Lord, fill their hearts with thankfulness and with religious dutiful obedience to thee and thy commandments all their days. Amen, Lord Jesus, Amen. And receive my soul into thy bosom. Amen."—Heylyn, Cyprian. Anglic., part ii., p. 501.

I know I must pass through the shadow of death before I can come to see thee. But it is but *umbra mortis*, a mere shadow of death ; a little darkness upon nature ; but thou by thy merits and passion hast broke through the jaws of death. The Lord receive my soul, and have mercy upon me, and bless this kingdom with peace and plenty, and with brotherly love and charity, that there may not be this effusion of Christian blood amongst them, for Jesus Christ his sake, if it be thy will." At the words, " Lord, receive my soul," spoken an instant after as a signal to the executioner, a single blow of the axe severed his head from his body.

Had the Church of England depended for power or usefulness on the success of principles not intrinsical to its own spirit and constitution, the death of Laud, and the events with which it was immediately attended, would have left it prostrate for ever at the feet of its enemies. But whatever honour the most ardent admirers of Laud would ascribe to that ill-judging, though not dishonest, insincere, or unholy prelate, they will, with few exceptions, rejoice to own that the Church remained the same after as before his times ; and that the whole of his zeal, whether well or ill directed, was but as a sudden shower upon the ocean, breaking the surface of the waves, but not influencing, even remotely, the flux or reflux of the tides.

Nowhere in the wide compass of ecclesiastical history, is there to be found the record of a triumph more noble or complete, than that of the Church of England in the misfortunes which thus threatened to overwhelm it. Seven thousand of its clergy sacrificed their preferments, their homes, and the very bread of their children, on the ruined altars of their sanctuary. Some of them had, doubtless with an unhappy blindness to Christian charity, approved of the persecutions during which so many pious members of their order had been driven to misery or desperation. But they now proved that they were willing to endure as much for their own cause as they obliged others to suffer when contending for theirs. Nor is it possible that the state of a Church should be otherwise than sound and healthy, when the majority of

its clergy are prepared to suffer every thing rather than prove unfaithful to their vows.

On the very day when the iniquitous sentence was pronounced upon Laud which doomed him to the scaffold, the act was passed which established the Directory. In the introduction to this ordinance it is said, "that the lords and commons assembled in parliament, taking into serious consideration the manifold inconveniences that have arisen in this kingdom; and resolving, according to their covenant, to reform religion according to the Word of God and the example of the best reformed churches, have consulted with the reverend pious and learned divines, called together for that purpose; and do judge it necessary that the said Book of Common Prayer be abolished, and the *Directory* for the public worship of God, hereinafter mentioned, be observed in all the churches within this kingdom."*

* The assembly of divines, from which the *Directory* emanated, held its first meeting in July 1643. A draft of the solemn league and covenant was presented to the assembly on August 17th; the instructions given to the Scotch commissioners being to the purport, that they were "to promote the extirpation of popery, prelacy, heresy, schism, scepticism and idolatry; and to endeavour a union between the two kingdoms in one confession of faith, one form of church-government, and one directory of worship." The "league and covenant," in the drawing up of which it is confessed, that "the wise men on both sides endeavoured to outwit each other," having passed both houses of parliament and the assembly, was published by authority, September 21st, whence may be dated the imagined overthrow of the Church. The articles of the covenant were as follows: "I. That we shall sincerely, really and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour in our several places and callings, the preservation of the reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, against our common enemies; the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, according to the Word of God and the example of the best reformed churches; and we shall endeavour to bring the Church of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confessing of faith, form of church-government, directory for worship, and catechising, that we and our posterity after us may, as brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us. II. That we shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of popery, prelacy (that is, church-government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy), superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness, lest we partake in other men's sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues; and that the Lord may be one, and his name one, in the three kingdoms. III. We shall, with the same reality, sincerity and constancy in our several vocations, endeavour, with our estates and lives, mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms, and to preserve and defend the king's majesty's

In the preface to the Directory itself we read, "It is evident from long and sad experience, that the liturgy, notwithstanding all the pains and religious intentions of the compilers, hath proved offensive both to many of the

person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdoms, that the world may bear witness with our consciences of our loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his majesty's just power or greatness. IV. We shall also, with all faithfulness, endeavour the discovery of all such as have been or shall be incendiaries, malignants or evil instruments, by hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the king from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another, or making any factions or parties among the people, contrary to the league and covenant, that they may be brought to public trial and receive condign punishment, as the degree of their offences shall require or deserve, or the supreme judicatories of both kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient. V. And whereas the happiness of a blessed peace between these kingdoms, denied in former times to our progenitors, is by the good providence of God granted unto us, and has been lately concluded and settled by both parliaments, we shall each one of us, according to our places and interests, endeavour that we may remain conjoined in a firm peace and union to all posterity; and that justice may be done on all the wilful opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent articles. VI. We shall also, according to our places and callings in this common cause of religion, liberty and peace of the kingdom, assist and defend all those that enter into this league and covenant in the maintaining and pursuing thereof; and shall not suffer ourselves, directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion or terror, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed union and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or give ourselves to a detestable indifferency or neutrality in this cause which so much concerneth the glory of God, the good of the kingdoms, and honour of the king; but shall all the days of our lives zealously and constantly continue therein against all opposition, and promote the same according to our power against all lets and impediments whatsoever; and what we are not able ourselves to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal and make known that it may be timely prevented or removed. And because these kingdoms are guilty of many sins and provocations against God and his Son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our present distresses and dangers, the fruits thereof, we profess and declare, before God and the world, our unfeigned desire to be humbled for our own sins and for the sins of these kingdoms, especially that we have not, as we ought, valued the inestimable benefit of the gospel; that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof; and that we have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our lives, which are the cause of other sins and transgressions so much abounding amongst us; and our true and unfeigned purpose, desire and endeavour for ourselves and all others under our charge, both in public and private, in all duties we owe to God and man, to amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a real reformation, that the Lord may turn away his wrath and heavy indignation, and establish these churches and kingdoms in truth and peace. And this covenant we make in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at that great day when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed; most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by his Holy Spirit for this end, and to bless our desires and proceedings with such success as may be a deliverance and safety to his people, and encouragement to the Christian Churches, groaning

godly at home, and the reformed abroad : that enjoining the reading all the prayers heightened the grievance : that the number and quality of the ceremonies made them unprofitable and burdensome : that they have occasioned much mischief ; disquieted the consciences of many godly ministers and people ; deprived them of the ordinances of God, which they could not enjoy without conformity ; thrown them out of their function and subsistence, and ruined their families : that the prelates and their faction have put too great a value upon it, as if God was to be worshipped no other way but in the service-book : that in consequence of this opinion the preaching of the Word was much hindered and depreciated : that the papists made their advantage this way ; boasted that the Common Prayer came up to a compliance with a great part of their service ; and by this means were not a little confirmed in their superstitions : that the liturgy has given great encouragement to an idle and unedifying ministry, who choose rather to acquiesce in forms made to their hands than to exert themselves in exercising the gift of prayer ; a gift with which our Saviour Christ furnishes all those called by him to that office. For these, and many other resembling considerations, they have agreed to set aside the Common Prayer, not out of any affectation of novelty ; not with any intention to disparage our first reformers, of whom they make honourable mention ; but that they may in some measure answer the gracious providence of God, which now calls upon them for further reformation : that they may satisfy their own consciences, and come up to the expectation of other reformed churches : that they may make many of the godly among themselves easy, and give some public testimony of their endeavours for uniformity in divine worship, pursuant to what they had promised in their solemn league and covenant."

In order, however, to show that it was not intended to set every minister at liberty to pursue his own fancies in

under or in danger of the yoke of anti-christian tyranny, to join with the same or like attestation and covenant to the glory of God, the enlargement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquillity of Christian kingdoms and commonwealths."—Rushworth, part iii, vol. ii., p. 478.

public worship, the authors of the Directory further state, "Our care hath been to hold forth such things as are of divine institution in every ordinance; and other things we have endeavoured to set forth according to the rules of Christian prudence, agreeable to the several rules of the Word of God: our meaning therein being only that the general heads, the sense and scope of the prayers, and other parts of public worship, being known to all, there may be a consent of all the churches in those things that contain the substance of the service and worship of God: and the ministers may be hereby directed in their administrations to keep like soundness in doctrine and prayer; and may, if need be, have some help and furniture; and yet so as they become not hereby slothful and negligent in stirring up the gifts of Christ in them; but that each one, by meditation, by taking heed to himself, and the flock of God committed to him, and by wise observing the ways of divine Providence, may be careful to furnish his heart and tongue with farther or other materials of prayer and of exhortation, as shall be needful upon all occasions."

The congregation having reverently composed themselves, the minister is directed to begin with prayer, "in all reverence and humility acknowledging the incomprehensible greatness and majesty of the Lord, in whose presence they do then in a special manner appear, and their own vileness and unworthiness to approach so near him, with their utter inability of themselves to so great a work; and humbly beseeching him for pardon, assistance and acceptance in the whole service then to be performed, and for a blessing on that particular portion of his Word then to be read, and all in the name and mediation of Jesus Christ."

Prayer being ended, the reading of the scriptures follows; of which "all the canonical books of the Old and New Testament, but none of those which are commonly called Apocrypha," were to be read. It is also added, "how large a portion shall be read at once is left to the wisdom of the minister; but it is convenient that ordinarily one chapter of each Testament be read at every meeting; and sometimes more, where the

chapters be short, or the coherence of matter requireth it. It is requisite that all the canonical books be read over in order, that the people may be better acquainted with the whole body of the scriptures; and, ordinarily, where the reading of either Testament endeth on one Lord's Day, it is to begin the next. We commend also the more frequent reading of such scriptures as he that readeth shall think best for edification of his hearers, as the book of Psalms and such like. When the minister who readeth shall judge it necessary to expound any part of what is read, let it not be done until the whole chapter or psalm be ended; and regard is always to be had unto the time, that neither preaching nor other ordinances be straitened or rendered tedious; which rule is to be observed in all other public performances. Beside public reading of the Holy Scriptures, every person that can read is to be exhorted to read the scriptures privately (and all others that cannot read, if not disabled by age or otherwise, are likewise to be exhorted to learn to read), and to have a Bible."

A very long instruction is given respecting "public prayer before the sermon." "After reading of the Word, and singing of the psalm, the minister who is to preach is to endeavour to get his own and his hearers' hearts to be rightly affected with their sins, that they may all mourn in sense thereof before the Lord, and hunger and thirst after the grace of God in Jesus Christ, by proceeding to a more full confession of sin with shame and holy confusion of face." A summary of the several points to be especially attended to in the prayer of the minister is then given; and it is almost impossible that an unprejudiced reader should not be struck with the fact that the only actual change effected by the Directory was this, that instead of using the sublime, appropriate and succinct language which the Church had employed in prayer from the earliest ages, and which had every grace and beauty that the fervours of saintly devotion could give it, the minister was to be left to his own feelings and ability, which, however great, could hardly be supposed to equal the united

wisdom and piety of the congregation of God's people at large.*

The instructions on preaching were such as no wise man, whatever his party, was likely to despise, as unworthy his attention. They were the result, not merely of ingenious observation, but of a long and fruitful experience, the experience of a body of men remarkable for the vigour and success with which they reformed this part of their ministerial duties. There is reason to fear that the heads of the Church had exercised far too little vigilance in cultivating among the clergy the gifts or qualifications which make useful and influential preachers. The few prelates who had the wisdom to see the importance of supplying the Church with efficient public teachers, met with painful discouragement; and the heaviest disgrace which could fall upon an establishment was inflicted by the openly-proclaimed fact, that it had ten thousand clergymen, scarcely any of which could pen a sermon, or expound a passage of scripture. The puritans offended against the rule of the Church, against experience, and the teaching of the best and wisest men, in the matter of prayer; but the

* Bishop Hall beautifully observes on this subject, "Far be it from me to dishearten any good Christian from the use of conceived prayer, in his private devotions; and upon occasion also, in the public. I would hate to be guilty of pouring so much water upon the Spirit, to which I shall gladly add oil rather. No! Let the full soul freely pour out itself in gracious expressions of its holy thoughts, into the bosom of the Almighty. Let both the sudden flashes of our quick ejaculations, and the constant flames of our more fixed conceptions, mount up from the altar of a zealous heart, unto the throne of grace; and if there be some stops or solecisms in the fervent utterance of our private wants, these are so far from being offensive, that they are the most pleasing music to the ears of that God, unto whom our prayers come. Let them be broken off with sobs and sighs, and incongruities of our delivery, our good God is no otherwise affected to this imperfect elocution, than an indulgent parent is to the clipped and broken language of his dear child, which is more delightful to him than any other's smooth oratory. This is not to be opposed in another, by any man that hath found the true operation of this grace in himself. But in the meantime, let the public forms of the sacred church liturgy have its due honour. Let this by the power of your authority be re-inforced, as that which, being selected out of antient models (not Roman but Christian) and contrived by the holy martyrs and confessors of the blessed reformation of religion, hath received abundant supply of strength, both from the zealous recommendation of four most religious princes, and your own most pious and peremptory establishment."—An Humble Remonstrance to the High Court of Parliament. Works, vol. x., p. 277.

Church was equally guilty in its neglect of preaching. Both demanded the most solemn and affectionate devotion of spirit. Wherever either is neglected, or the one allowed to be regarded as a substitute for the other, whatever may be the state of a few happy minds, the majority will exhibit the saddest proofs of apathy and destitution.

Happy would it have been for the Church had the puritan rule of "preaching the Word" obtained at a far earlier period the sanction of men in power. "It is presupposed," say the instructions, "according to the rules for ordination, that the minister of Christ is in some good measure gifted, for so weighty a service, by his skill in the original languages, and in such arts and sciences as are handmaids unto divinity; by his knowledge in the whole body of theology, but most of all in the Holy Scriptures, having his senses and heart exercised in them above the common sort of believers; and by the illumination of God's Spirit, and other gifts of edification, which (together with reading and studying of the Word) he ought still to seek by prayer, and an humble heart, resolving to admit and receive any truth not yet attained, whenever God shall make it known unto him. All which he is to make use of, and improve in his private preparations, before he delivers in public what he hath provided." Directions are then given for the management of texts and subjects, and that all may be done *painfully, plainly, faithfully*; wisely; gravely.

"Prayer after sermon" is the next head in the instructions of the Directory; and next follows the rule for the "administration of the sacraments;" the most important of any, as illustrative of the opinions held by the triumphant adversaries of the Church. Thus we read: "Baptism, as it is not unnecessarily to be delayed, so it is not to be administered in any case by any private person, but by a minister of Christ, called to be the steward of the mysteries of God. Nor is it to be administered in private places, or privately, but in the place of public worship, and in the face of the congregation, where the people may most conveniently

see and hear, and not in the places where fonts in the time of popery were unfitly and superstitiously placed. The child to be baptized, after notice given to the minister the day before, is to be presented by the father, or in case of his necessary absence, by some Christian friend in his place, in professing his earnest desire that the child may be baptized. Before baptism, the minister is to use some words of instruction, touching the institution, nature, use and ends of this sacrament: shewing, that it is instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ; that it is a seal of the covenant of grace, of our ingrafting into Christ, and of an union with him; of remission of sins, regeneration, adoption, and life eternal. That the water in baptism representeth and signifieth both the blood of Christ which taketh away all guilt of sin, original and actual, and the sanctifying virtue of the Spirit of Christ against the dominion of sin, and the corruption of our sinful nature; that baptizing, or sprinkling and washing with water, signifieth the cleansing from sin by the blood and for the merit of Christ, together with the mortification of sin, and rising from sin to newness of life, by virtue of the death and resurrection of Christ; that the promise is made to believers and their seed; and that the seed and posterity of the faithful, born within the Church, have, by their birth, interest in the covenant, and right to the seal of it, and to the outward privileges of the Church under the gospel, no less than the children of Abraham in the time of the Old Testament; the covenant of grace for substance being the same; and the grace of God, and the consolation of believers, more plentiful than before: that the Son of God admitted little children into his presence, embracing and blessing them: that children, by baptism are solemnly received into the bosom of the visible Church, distinguished from the world, and them that are without, and united with believers; and that all who are baptized in the name of Christ do renounce, and by their baptism are bound to fight against, the devil, the world and the flesh: that they are Christians, and federally holy before baptism, and therefore they are baptized; that the inward grace and virtue of bap-

tism is not tied to that very moment of time wherein it is administered ; and that the fruit and power thereof reacheth to the whole course of our life ; and that outward baptism is not so necessary that through the want thereof the infant is in danger of damnation, or the parents guilty, if they do not condemn or neglect the ordinance of Christ, when and where it may be had. In these, or the like instructions, the minister is to use his own liberty and godly wisdom, as the ignorance or errors in the doctrine of baptism, and the edification of the people, shall require."

It is next ordered that the minister, having addressed the parent in particular, should demand the name of the child, and then pronounce the words, " I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," whilst repeating which he was to baptize the child, " which for the manner of doing it, is not only lawful but sufficient, and most expedient to be, by pouring or sprinkling of the water on the face of the child, without adding any other ceremony."

Of the celebration of the communion, or sacrament of the Lord's Supper, it is said that it ought to be frequently administered, but how often " may be considered and determined by the ministers and other church governors of each congregation, as they shall find it most convenient for the comfort and edification of the people committed to their charge."

At the time of the celebration, after " exhortation, warning, and invitation, the table being decently covered, and so conveniently placed that the communicants may orderly sit about it, or at it, the minister is to begin the action with sanctifying and blessing the elements of bread and wine set before him (the bread in comely and convenient vessels, so prepared that being broken by him, and given, it may be distributed among the communicants ; the wine also in large cups); having first, in a few words, shewed that those elements, otherwise common, are now set apart and sanctified to this holy use, by the word of institution and prayer. Let the words of institution be read out of the Evangelists, or out of the 1 Cor. xi.,

23, to verse 27, which the minister may, when he seeth requisite, explain and apply."

The prayer "of thanksgiving, or blessing, of the bread and wine" was to contain "humble and hearty acknowledgment of the greatness of our misery, from which neither man nor angel was able to deliver us, and of our great unworthiness of the least of all God's mercies." This confession was to be followed by "thanks to God for all his merits, and especially for that great benefit of our redemption, the love of God the Father, the sufferings and merits of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, by which we are delivered; and for all means of grace, the Word and sacraments; and for this sacrament in particular, by which Christ, and all his benefits, are applied and sealed up unto us, which, notwithstanding the denial of them unto others, are in great mercy continued unto us, after so much and long abuse of them all." Next is to follow a profession, "that there is no other name under heaven by which we can be saved, but the name of Jesus Christ, by whom alone we receive liberty and life, have access to the throne of grace, are admitted to eat and drink at his own table, and are sealed up by his Spirit to an assurance of happiness and everlasting life." Then the minister is "earnestly to pray to God, the Father of all mercies, and God of all consolation, to vouchsafe his gracious presence, and the effectual working of his Spirit in the communicants, and so to sanctify the elements both of bread and wine, and to bless his own ordinance, that they might receive by faith the body and blood of Jesus Christ crucified for us, and so to feed upon him, that he might be one with them, and they with him; that he might live in them and they in him, and to him."

An address to God, embodying these desires, having been offered up, and the elements being now sanctified by the Word and prayer, the minister, being at the table, is to take the bread in his hand, and say, in these expressions (or other the like, used by Christ or his apostle, upon this occasion): "According to the holy institution, command, and example, of our blessed

Saviour Jesus Christ, I take this bread, and having given thanks, I break it, and give it unto you (then the minister, who is also himself to communicate, is to break the bread and give it unto the communicants): Take ye, eat ye: This is the body of Christ which is broken for you; do this in remembrance of him." In like manner the minister is to take the cup, and say, in these expressions (or other the like used by Christ, or the apostle, upon the same occasion): "According to the institution, command, and example, of our Lord Jesus Christ, I take this cup and give it unto you (here he giveth it to the communicants): This cup is the New Testament in the blood of Christ, which is shed for the remission of the sins of many; drink ye all of it."

At the conclusion, the minister is to put the communicants in mind "of the grace of God in Jesus Christ, held forth in this sacrament; and exhort them to walk worthy of it." And then to give solemn thanks "for his rich mercy and invaluable goodness vouchsafed to them in the sacrament; and to entreat pardon for the defects of the whole service, and for the gracious assistance of his good Spirit, whereby they may be enabled to walk in the strength of that grace, as becometh those who have received so great pledges of salvation."

Of the "Sanctification of the Lord's Day," forms the next article in the Directory. It is said, "The Lord's Day ought to be so remembered beforehand, as that all worldly business of our ordinary callings may be so ordered, and so timely and seasonably laid aside, as they may not be impediments to the due sanctifying of the day when it comes. The whole day is to be celebrated as holy to the Lord, both in public and private, as being the Christian Sabbath. To which end it is requisite, that there be a holy cessation, or resting, all the day, from all unnecessary labours, and an abstaining, not only from all sports and pastimes, but also from all worldly words and thoughts. That the diet on that day be so ordered, as that neither servants be unnecessarily detained from the public worship of God, nor any other persons hindered from the sanctifying of that day. That there be private preparation of every person and

family by prayer for themselves, and for God's assistance of the minister, and for a blessing upon his ministry; and by such other holy exercises as may farther dispose them to a more comfortable communion with God in his public ordinances. That all the people meet so timely for public worship, that the whole congregation may be present at the beginning, and with one heart solemnly join together in all parts of the public worship, and not depart till after the blessing. That what time is vacant between or after the solemn meetings of the congregation in public, be spent in reading, meditation, repetition of sermons (especially by calling their families to an account of what they have heard), and catechising of them; holy conferences, prayer for a blessing upon the public ordinances, singing of psalms, visiting the sick, relieving the poor, and such like duties of piety, charity and mercy, accounting the sabbath a delight."

In the article on the "Visitation of the Sick," we again meet with those striking indications of a practical acquaintance with ministerial duties, the strict attention to which, on the part of the sincere and zealous members of the puritan party, served so materially to exalt their character in the eyes of the people. The service of the Church answers in every point to *the instructions* of the Directory, but carries out, more fully and authoritatively, the principles involved in a ministerial application of the means of grace.

The directions given respecting the "Burial of the Dead" exhibit the spirit of puritanism more strongly than most of the other articles. "When any person departeth this life, let the dead body, upon the day of burial, be decently attended from the house to the place appointed for public burial, and there immediately interred, without any ceremony; and because the customs of kneeling down, and praying by or towards the dead corpse, and other such usages, in the place where it lies before it be carried to burial, are superstitious; and for that, praying, reading and singing, both in going to and at the grave, have been grossly abused, are no way beneficial to the dead, and have proved many ways hurtful to the living; therefore, let all such things be laid aside.

Howbeit, we judge it very convenient, that the Christian friends which accompany the dead body to the place appointed for public burial, do apply themselves to meditations, and conferences suitable to the occasion ; and that the minister, as upon other occasions, so at this time, if he be present, may put them in remembrance of their duty ; that this shall not extend to deny any civil respects or deferences at the burial, suitable to the rank and condition of the party deceased while he was living."

Public fasting, days of thanksgiving, singing of psalms, and days and places of public worship, are treated of in the following sections of the Directory ; and it is evident from the orders thus given, that the institutions of the Church were felt to be as necessary as ever, and that puritanism could do little more than alter or blot out names, unless it meant to strike a fatal blow at religion itself.*

The " Form of Presbyterial Church-government" was " agreed upon, examined and approved," by the assembly of divines at Westminster, and by the general assembly of the Church of Scotland, in 1645. According to the rule thus established, the officers of the Church consisted of pastors, of teachers or doctors, described as " of most excellent use in schools and universities, as of old in the schools of the prophets, and at Jerusalem, where Gamaliel and others taught as doctors ;" of elders, answering to the " elders of the people, joined with the priests and Levites in the government of the Church ;" and of deacons, " whose office is perpetual," and to which " it belongs not to preach the word or administer the sacraments, but to take special care in distributing to the necessities of the poor."†

* " The Directory would endure no rival. It being found difficult to break the hold which the liturgy had obtained in the affections of the people, it was ordered by parliament that all Common Prayer Books should be called in ; and the use of the liturgy was forbidden in any church, chapel or public place of worship, or in any private place or family, under penalty of five pounds for the first offence, ten pounds for the second, and, for the third, a year's imprisonment."—Rushworth, pt. 4. vol. i., p. 205.

† Our work for this day (May 3, 1644) was this proposition, which was the seventh in the report of the committee: " Single congregations ought to have such officers, ordinances and administrations among themselves, as God hath instituted. But there was some scrupling at the expressions ; wherefore Mr. Palmer, being chairman of the committee for the summary,

Of the government of the Church, it is said, "Christ hath instituted a government, and governors ecclesiastical, in the Church to that purpose; the apostles did immediately receive the keys from the hand of Jesus Christ, and did use and exercise them in all the churches of the world upon all occasions. And Christ hath since continually furnished some in his Church with gifts of government, and with commission to execute the same, when called thereunto. It is lawful and agreeable to the Word of God, that the Church be governed by several sorts of assemblies, which are congregational, classical and synodical." The power of these assemblies is thus determined: "It is lawful and agreeable to the Word of God, that the several assemblies before mentioned have power to convene and call before them, any person within their several bounds whom the ecclesiastical business which is before them doth concern. They have power to hear and determine such causes and differences

was desired to relate what he thought concerning the matter which that committee had just now in hand; and he excepted at the word *ought*; and therefore there ought to be one or more both to labour in the word and doctrine, and to rule, and others to assist them in government, and some deacons also, whose proper office is to take care of the poor, the number of all which are to be proportioned according to the quantity of the congregation. Whereupon I moved that we might fall upon these officers piecemeal; and so, first, we fell upon this proposition or clause: 'Every single congregation ought to have one at the least, both to labour in the word and to rule.' This was ready to be ordered when Mr. Carter excepted at the word *ruling*, which cost some debate; and that being done, it was ordered. After which there was some doubt made at the *one at the least*; and therefore it was tendered that *one pastor*, or *one preaching presbyter*, or the like, might be added, to avoid the Brownists' teaching; but it was thought fit to stick to the scripture phrase, which the proposition carried, and so it was passed."

"Then fell we upon the other officers, and it cost some time for the hewing up of the expressions for them; and, first, about deacons, whether it should be *there ought*, or, *it is fit*, or *requisite*, there should be deacons; and whether to say, *to care for the poor*, or to add, *for their own poor, and for the poor of neighbouring congregations*; at the last it was framed and passed in these terms: 'It is also requisite that there be one at least to the care of the relief of the poor.' Then for the ruling elder there was some question whether to call him *an assistant*, for the independents thought that abased him. At last it was passed thus: 'It is also requisite that there be one at least to join with the minister in ruling.' Then Mr. Henderson, being but newly come in, excepted against the oneship of an elder in the congregation: 'for how can there be,' saith he, 'an eldership where there is but one elder?' This also Mr. Rutherford followed him in, and this cost a serious debate; for the Scots commissioners did conceive that we did not here come near enough to them: we feared that more numbers of the elders would bring several inconveniences."—Journal of the Assembly of Divines. Lightfoot's Works, vol. xiii., p. 260.

as do orderly come before them. It is lawful and agreeable to the Word of God, that all the said assemblies have some power to dispense Church censures." Congregational assemblies were endowed with a corresponding power. "The ruling officers of a particular congregation have power authoritatively to call before them any member of the congregation, as they shall see just occasion; to inquire into the knowledge and spiritual state of the several members of the congregation; to admonish and rebuke." They had also the right of suspending any person, "not yet cast out of the Church," from the Lord's Table; "First, Because those who have authority to judge of and admit such as are fit to receive the sacrament, have authority to keep back such as shall be found unworthy. Secondly, Because it is an ecclesiastical business of ordinary practice belonging to the congregation." It is added, that "when congregations are divided and fixed, they need all mutual help one from another, both in regard of their intrinsical weaknesses and mutual dependence, as also in regard of enemies from without."

Under the head of "Classical Assemblies," it is said, "The scripture doth hold out a presbytery in the Church, both in the 1 Tim., iv., 14, and in Acts, xv., 2, 4, 6;" and, "a presbytery consisteth of ministers of the word, and such other public officers as are agreeable to, and warranted by, the Word of God to be church-governors, to join with the ministers in the government of the Church; as appeareth, Rom., xii., 7, 8.; 1 Cor., xii., 28. The scripture doth hold forth, that many particular congregations may be under one presbyterial government." As instances of the truth of this statement the Churches of Jerusalem and Ephesus are mentioned, both of which, it is remarked, consisted of more congregations than one; and it is further inferred, from reference to scripture, that there were many elders over these many congregations, as one flock; that the apostles did the ordinary acts of presbyters; that, as the several congregations in Jerusalem were one Church, and the elders of that Church are mentioned as meeting together for acts of government, those several congregations

were under one presbyterial government: and that there appears little "material difference between the several congregations in Jerusalem, and the many congregations now in the ordinary condition of the Church, as to the point of fixedness required of officers or members."

Respecting synodical assemblies, it is said, "The scripture doth hold out another sort of assemblies, for the government of the Church, beside classical and congregational, all which we call synodical. Acts, xv. Pastors and teachers, and other church-governors (as also other fit persons, when it shall be deemed expedient) are members of those assemblies which we call synodical, where they have a lawful calling thereunto. Synodical assemblies may lawfully be of several sorts, as provincial, national, and œcumenical. It is lawful, and agreeable to the Word of God, that there be a subordination of congregational, classical, provincial, and national assemblies, for the government of the Church."

A most important subject still remained to exercise the wisdom of the new ecclesiastical rulers and legislators. The ordination of ministers demanded their most cautious attention. They felt to how many perils an error in this matter would expose them; and they constructed the defences of their system with a clear understanding of the mode in which an adversary might most successfully assail it.*

Dividing the subject into two heads, they treated separately of "the doctrine of ordination," and, "the power of ordination." Under the former head they

* "The first thing done, when we were met, was, that the votes we had made concerning presbytery, methodized by a committee appointed for that purpose, were reported by Mr. Byfield..... Mr. Hill moved, that there might be some preface made to the Directory in vindication of our ordination, which is so much now vilified.... And then we had much debate about sending up what we had done; whether we should send up the business of presbytery, which was followed and agitated with much heat..... 'We find that a classical presbytery did ordain,' &c. ... And this the dissenting party urged to go to the question, thinking this reason not to make a clear conclusion upon the proposition, 'a classical presbytery did ordain,' *ergo*, a single congregation may not. This scoff cost some heat and long debate; and the thing itself spent abundance of time; at last it was put to the question and voted affirmatively, some five votes difference."—Journal of the Assembly of Divines, April, May. Lightfoot's Works, vol. XIII.

showed that, “no man ought to take upon him the office of a minister of the word, without a lawful calling; that ordination is always to be continued in the Church; that it is the solemn setting apart of a person to some public church-office; that every minister of the word is to be ordained by imposition of hands, and prayer, with fasting, by those preaching presbyters to whom it doth belong; that it is agreeable to the Word of God, and very expedient, that such as are to be ordained ministers be designed to some particular church, or other ministerial charge: that the candidate for ordination must be qualified both by character and ministerial abilities; that he should be examined by those by whom he is to be ordained; and that no man may be ordained minister for a particular congregation, if they of that congregation can shew just cause of exception against him.”

Respecting the “power of ordination,” it is stated, “ordination is the act of a presbytery. The power of ordering the whole work of ordination is in the whole presbytery, which, when it is over more congregations than one, whether those congregations be fixed or not fixed, in regard of officers or members, it is indifferent as to the point of ordination.” And further: “It is very requisite that no single congregation, that can conveniently associate, do assume to itself all and sole power in ordination; first, because there is no example in scripture that any single congregation which might conveniently associate did assume to itself all and sole power in ordination, neither is there any rule which may warrant such a practice; secondly, because there is in scripture, example of an ordination in a presbytery over divers congregations; as in the church of Jerusalem, where were many congregations; these many congregations were under one presbytery, and this presbytery did ordain. The preaching presbyters orderly associated, either in cities, or neighbouring villages, are those to whom the imposition of hands doth appertain, for those congregations within their bounds respectively.”

But, at the end of the rules thus largely set forth,

indications are allowed to appear of doubt and apprehension lest the number of persons prepared for the ministry should be far less than was expected or required. "In extraordinary cases, something extraordinary may be done, until a settled order may be had, yet keeping as near as possible to the rule. There is at this time, as we humbly conceive, an extraordinary occasion for a way of ordination for the present supply of ministers."

On this foundation, laid so suddenly, and in the midst of tumults, the now triumphant party proudly hoped to erect a Church which should have all the power and grandeur of a national establishment—all the advantages of primitive ordinances and apostolic discipline, without any of the blemishes of the older institution. That these expectations were in most instances the fruit of mingled presumption and fanaticism, was amply proved by the event.* But the religious

* Milton's testimony to the truth of this statement is all important. "As for the party called presbyterian, of whom I believe very many to be good and faithful Christians, though misled by some of turbulent spirit, I wish them, earnestly and calmly, not to fall off from their first principles, nor to affect rigour and superiority over men not under them; not to compel unforcible things, in religion especially, which, if not voluntary, becomes a sin; not to assist the clamour and malicious drifts of men, whom they themselves have judged to be the worst of men, the obdurate enemies of God and his Church; nor to dart against the actions of their brethren, for want of other argument, those wrested laws and scriptures thrown by prelates and malignants against their own sides, which, though they hurt not otherwise, yet taken up by them to the condemnation of their own doings, give scandal to all men, and discover in themselves either extreme passion or apostacy. Let them not oppose their best friends and associates, who molest them not at all, infringe not the least of their liberties, unless they call it their liberty to bind other men's consciences, but are still seeking to live at peace with them, and brotherly accord; let them beware an old and perfect enemy, who, though he hope by sowing discord to make them his instruments, yet cannot forbear a minute the open threatening of his destined revenge upon them, when they have served his purposes. Let them fear, therefore, if they be wise, rather what they have done already, than what remains to do, and be warned in time they put no confidence in princes whom they have provoked, lest they be added to the examples of those that miserably have tasted the event."—*Tenure of Kings*, sec. 53.

"I have something also to the divines, though brief to what were needful; not to be disturbers of the civil affairs, being in hands better able and more belonging to manage them; but to study harder, and to attend the office of good pastors, knowing that he whose flock is least among them hath a dreadful charge, not performed by mounting twice into the chair with a formal preaching huddled up at the odd hours of a whole lazy week, but by incessant pains and watching in season and out of season, from house to house, over the souls of whom they have to feed. Which, if they ever well

state of England under the Commonwealth, and during the period immediately succeeding, offers materials sufficiently ample for a distinct history. Sadly as were some of the means and instruments, most profitable to the enlargement of Christ's kingdom, cast aside at this time, God's living Spirit and watchful providence ceased not to deepen the foundations on which the Church was again to rise. The reign of Charles the Second furnished fresh proofs of the fact so often before demonstrated, that though the Church may well rejoice in a healthy and happy union with the state, it is frequently exposed, in consequence of that union, to trials and difficulties to which, as a Church, it would but rarely be subjected.

Nothing can better prove the truth of this observation than the character impressed upon the literature of the court in Charles the Second's reign, contrasted with the

considered, how little leisure would find to be the most pragmatical sidesmen of every popular tumult and sedition! and all this while are to learn what the true end and reason is of the gospel which they teach; and what a world it differs from the censorious and supercilious lording over conscience. It would be good also they lived so as might persuade the people they hated covetousness, which, worse than heresy, is idolatry; hated pluralities and all kinds of simony; left rambling from benefice to benefice, like ravenous wolves seeking where they may devour the biggest. Of which if some, well and warmly seated from the beginning, be not guilty, it were good they held not conversation with such as are. Let them be sorry, that, being called to assemble about reforming the Church, they fell to propping and soliciting the parliament, though they had renounced the name of priests, for a new settling of their tithes and oblations, and double lined themselves with spiritual places of commodity beyond the possible discharges of their duty. Let them assemble in consistory with their elders and deacons, according to antient ecclesiastical rule, to the preserving of church discipline, each in his several charge, and not a pack of clergymen by themselves to belly-cheer in their presumptuous Sion, or to promote designs, abuse and gull the simple laity and stir up tumult, as the prelates did for the maintenance of their pride and avarice."—*Tenure of Kings*, sec. 55.

"These things, if they observe, and wait with patience, no doubt but all things will go well without their importunities or exclamations: and the printed letters, which they send subscribed with the ostentation of great characters and little moment, would be more considerable than now they are. But if they be the ministers of Mammon instead of Christ, and scandalize his Church with the filthy love of gain, aspiring also to sit the closest and the heaviest of all tyrants upon the conscience, and fall notoriously into the same sins, whereof so lately they accused the prelates; as God rooted out those wicked ones immediately before, so will he root out them their imitators; and to vindicate his own glory and religion, will uncover their hypocrisy to the open world, and visit upon their own heads that "Curse ye Meroz," the very motto of their pulpits, wherewith so frequently, not as Meroz, but more like atheists, they have blasphemed the vengeance of God, and traduced the zeal of his people."—*Ib.*, sec. 56.

solidity and even grandeur which distinguished the writings of the great theologians of the same period. Milton himself could not overcome the opposition which existed to any thing great or good in secular authorship. Fierce as he was in defence of puritanism, his mind, his tastes, and deeper feelings were altogether moulded by ecclesiastical influences. But while the great body of theological literature was so nobly indicative of the genius and piety of the clergy, no stronger evidence could be given, that, if the state required their subjection to its will, something like a struggle must yet be passed through before it could be honestly pretended, that they yielded obedience with a sincere and hearty affection.

James the Second brought on the struggle sooner than was expected. His infamous proceedings compelled the Church to consider its position, and to inquire whether, without renouncing its very character as a Church, it could still continue in union with the state. The answer would probably have been in the negative, had not the wisdom and wonderful mercy of God helped to resolve the doubts which the treachery of the monarch and the course of events had created. When the Revolution of 1688 had secured to the several branches of the community their proper relative position, their due powers and rights, the clergy found themselves in a condition better than any they had yet enjoyed for promoting the interests of religion, and the welfare and honour of the establishment. But it requires both wisdom and virtue of the highest class to preserve men from relaxing in their watchfulness when there seems little to apprehend; and if the Church has suffered from such a cause, we only see therein a fresh illustration of the snares and dangers of prosperity.

The design of these volumes obliges us to confine our statements to such circumstances as most directly show the progress or decline of true religion. In the history of the English Church, the effort to disentangle the thread of details leading to the object thus proposed, from others of a different nature, is attended with more than common difficulties. There is danger, not always

avoided even by men of the most acute mind, of disregarding events that do not, in the first instance, seem connected with the interests of the gospel. On the other hand, there is the peril, equally great, of confounding the outward prosperity of the Church with the real advancement of spiritual truth. In both cases, the history of religion in this country is involved in difficulty. The Church can rarely be contemplated in so simple and isolated a character as it presents in other nations. Since the Reformation, especially, it has been so intimately connected with the political government of the country, that, though occasionally supreme in its influence, it has never itself been superior to influence from without. In many of its most remarkable struggles, the piety of its bishops has exhibited itself rather as prudence, manly courage, independence, a sense of the dignity of station, than as heavenly-mindedness, habitually raising its possessor above the world, and teaching him not so much to reason and calculate, as to pray, exhort, and trust lovingly in God. We do not say that the great men who represented our Church in its struggles were without the Spirit, the fruit of which are feelings like those alluded to; but that, owing to the particular circumstances in which our Church has been placed, they were kept so conversant with temporal affairs, so perpetually obliged to watch the current of political opinions, that their language and conduct, if not their actual habits of thought, presented more, as we have said, of Christian prudence, than of that sublime devotional feeling which, even in their transactions with worldly powers, distinguished the prelates of antient times, and less powerful churches.

While such was the case with respect to the hierarchy, the influence which had wrought on their character, operated in a degree fully proportionable on that of the clergy at large. As a body, they felt that they were as dependent on the state as on the Church: that it required no small share of learning and acuteness to discover what were their peculiar responsibilities as to the latter; or what, under peculiar contingencies, ought to be their conduct. But a short time had to

elapse before the principle was generally established, that the patronage which the government possessed might be regarded as a most legitimate portion of church machinery ; and that the influence of the clergy was likely to be increased just so far as men of rank and property saw that they might fairly trust their sons to the chances of the profession.

It is impossible for men of ordinary piety to shut their eyes to the fact, that the Church of this country did, under circumstances of this kind, rapidly lose its evangelical efficiency. We do not say its evangelical character, but efficiency. The former it had received, and continued to retain, for it was not bestowed on it without the securities of creeds, articles, homilies and ordinances ; but the latter grew less day by day : it had no support except such as was rendered it by the piety, now beginning to be regarded as eccentric, of the few retiring minds that could realize that grandest of experimental truths, the possibility of yielding all faithful obedience to authority, and of cultivating, at the same time, the graces of the Spirit, of which it is said, that where he is, "there is liberty."

Instead, therefore, of having a broad line of light to guide us in tracing the progress of opinion in our Church, it requires all the patience of a devout mind to discover the traces which have been left of the real advancement of evangelical truth. The caprices of power have, on many occasions, been wonderfully overruled for good. Temptations which, in other countries, have utterly corrupted the clergy, and made them the slaves of superstition, avarice or sensuality, have not, in this, been allowed to debase them to such depths, however much they may have deprived them of the dignity and honour of their proper spiritual pre-eminence. Decency has always been preserved ; and fierce declamation and biting satire have, on this account, shot their darts in vain at the national clergy. There may have been a want of that spirit to which vulgar comprehension is a stranger, which, whether present or absent, the gross temper of the world can never rightly appreciate ; but, put to the trial in respect to things on which mankind

in general can fairly form a judgment, the national clergy have always been able to make good their defence. The common proprieties of duty have given an amiable and graceful aspect to the body at large. Charity has not been wanting to shed about it a still brighter air; and the dignity of wealth and station, enjoyed by many of the order, has always effectually shielded it, not only from the approaches of contempt, but from the temptations which might provoke it.

But, with all this, it would be folly to deny, that the highest interests of religion seemed to lose, with each successive generation, more and more of their power to engage attention. Churches began to be shut up from sabbath to sabbath, the people glad to excuse themselves on the plea of worldly occupation, and the clergy coldly yielding to the supposed necessity of the case. Preaching, in the meantime, exhibited, in a striking manner, the influence of this state of things: it became every day more adapted to the known necessities of the world, and less fitted to accomplish the peculiar objects of the gospel. The world, it had long been confessed, stood in need of moral rules, and the higher the sanction, the more vivid the motives for obeying them, the greater the advantage to civilization. Preaching could never altogether go out of fashion, or lose the favour of reasonable men, while this was felt. But the very acknowledgment of its utility, as an instrument of mere social or political good, contributed to annul its higher and nobler pretensions. Preachers imagined that they had well fulfilled their duty when the state of their congregations bore testimony to the worth of moral precepts. By rapid degrees the very doctrines of the clergy, as well as their discourses, lost the unction, the life and power, of the gospel. Doubts were cast on the reality of every thing spiritual. The hearts of the people were rarely stirred either by strong statements of truth, or by solemn and respectful intimations of the existence of mysteries, of the riches of heavenly knowledge, of which, after the due preparation of penitence, they might happily be made partakers. It was

the brightness and the coldness of a winter day that gave to the best even of the generality of the professors of this period their superficial feeling of health and activity.

When we endeavour, therefore, to discover in the state of the national Church fruits of those sublime efforts which had so lately been made by its reformers, disappointment must inevitably attend our inquiries if we confine our observations to the more conspicuous features of the times. But it is next to impossible that, with a treasure of heavenly doctrine like that, not only committed to its keeping, but openly and continually referred to in its ordinances, our Church should have been, at any time, unproductive of fruits meet to prove the life and presence of an evangelical spirit. The organization which it enjoyed still farther increased the difficulty with which worldly principles would have to contend in opposing its usefulness, or depriving it of its fitness to diffuse blessings through the land. Its clergy were not all exposed to the temptations attending upon its peculiar relation to the state. The condition of many of them was that of a happy mean between riches and poverty,—a condition, that is, in which, it has ever been considered, the mind and heart are most free to obey holy and generous impulses. Nor ought it to be lost sight of, that in the midst of the worst temptations with which the clergy had to contend, they were not like a body of men rudely gathered together by some sudden impulse, or as men untaught in the history of their Church, or in such departments of literature and science as usually tend most powerfully to the strengthening of healthy principles. Such things could not make up for the want of divine grace; but wherever the truth was known and felt, even though not in the highest degree, much was likely to be done. The means of instruction among a well-educated clergy are large and various; and arguments in favour of the most important doctrines, and of a holy life, are urged with a force not measured by the capacity of the individual, but by his command over, and familiarity with, the teaching of the

Church at large ; just as the fountain throws its waters upwards with greater power, according to the height and fulness of the source.

With the knowledge that so many favourable circumstances existed, even in the dullest period of our religious history, there is no slight reason to believe that evangelical feeling, though far below the level at which it may commonly be observed, must have often exercised its benign influence, and that over large though obscure provinces. Had not this been the case, there would have been none of that preparation for happier times, which, it may reasonably be supposed, led the way to those improvements of discipline and temper so conspicuously observable in a subsequent age.

Allowing, however, as much as with any reverence for truth can be granted, and thus softening the severity of the judgment with which some periods of our history would be viewed, a religious mind will be ever reverting to the melancholy facts which prove the awful disproportion between the advantages enjoyed by our Church, and the work performed ; between the ripe harvest, and the seed gathered in ; between the number of labourers hired and paid, and the duty done.

That the Church was carried through a season of such peril without any loss as to its ordinances, discipline or actual independence, is a singular instance of divine favour. With apparently no greater tendency to indifference ; with fewer supports from without, aiding a corrupt desire of temporal security and wealth ; with less adherence to the world on the part of the clergy ; many an institution has fallen into a state of reprobation, and prepared the way for its utter abscision from the Church of Christ.

CHAP. VII.

RISE OF ARMINIANISM.—CONTROVERSY CONCERNING PRE-DESTINATION. — ARMINIANS AND GERMANS. — THEIR DISPUTATIONS.—DEATH OF ARMINIUS, AND SUCCEEDING CONTROVERSIES.—SYNOD OF DORT.

IT was not in England only that the principles on which the peace of the Church was finally to be established, were subjected to the fiery trials of controversy and persecution. The freedom at which men so eagerly grasped in the first days of the Reformation, produced, in many cases, a different fruit to that which they had looked for. They expected it to bear as if it had been planted in a good and rich soil for many years; forgetting that the best trees produce little fruit till after long and careful tending.

The most disheartening of the circumstances with which the course of religion has in later times been disfigured, are those which have had their origin in disputes on subjects very remotely connected with any vital doctrine or important interest. Disputes of this kind afford melancholy proofs, that the pride, the selfishness, the caprice of the human heart, are continually opposing themselves to the grace of God; as if angry at its free course, and jealous lest it should too soon reduce mankind to a state of holiness and peace. But there are controversies which arise, not from the capriciousness of men's tempers, but from the state of vast portions of the Christian community; from the very conditions on which churches are established; from the power of the gospel itself, acting with sudden and startling force on great and original minds. The Reformation itself was the result of a controversy of this kind. That its consequences were of so grand and important a character was owing, not to its being different

to any other controversy, but to the nature of the times in which it commenced.

Many were the struggles of inferior parties during the period immediately succeeding the Reformation. Every ambitious theologian conceived, at that time, the hope of constituting himself the head of a sect. But, as affairs assumed a more tranquil aspect, the strength employed in this way gradually returned into its proper channels. Great principles received their rightful nourishment; Churches and communities felt their growing might; and just in proportion to their discovered deficiency in this or that particular, or in breadth and power of expansion, was the feeling of restlessness exhibited by the great men through whom its innermost spirit strove to express its yearnings.

Of the controversies to which the seventeenth century gave birth, those of the Arminians and Jansenists were infinitely the most important. They owed their beginning to that growth of inward convictions, of that deepening sense of the value and beauty of truth, in which all great controversies have had their rise, and whence, whatever their visible and popular results, they have derived the power of materially affecting the great under-currents of thought and opinion.

Arminius* had studied at several of the most celebrated universities, and was distinguished for his extensive learning, when, in the year 1588, he received an

* Born at Oudewater, in South Holland, in the year 1560. An interesting proof is given of the success with which he had pursued his studies at Basle. Grynæus was then divinity professor in that university; and when in his lectures any difficult question was suddenly proposed, he would cry, "Let my Hollander answer for me." "Non est veritus honoris causa Arminium nostrum media in studiosorum turba sedentem citare, et (ut Grynæi candorem agnoscas) dicere, respondeat pro me Hollandus meus." He subsequently visited Italy, and of his stay at Rome he was in the habit of observing, that he had derived therefrom both benefits and injuries. Among the former he reckoned this as the chief, that he had seen there the mystery of iniquity, and found it to be baser, and more to be detested, than it had ever entered his mind to conceive; for, that what was commonly related respecting the Roman antichrist was a mere trifle in comparison with what he had witnessed. Among the latter, he placed the suspicions which were absurdly conceived against him at Amsterdam, on account of his Italian tour, it being commonly asserted that he had kissed the pope's feet, formed an acquaintance with Bellarmine, and actually embraced popery.—Petri Bertii de Vit. et Obiit. I. Arm. Oratio.

It appears, however, that at an early period the activity of his inquiring mind was viewed with suspicion even by his teachers: Velim te diligenter

appointment to one of the churches in Amsterdam.* There his abilities as a preacher speedily procured him a high degree of favour, and his character was regarded with profound and general respect. Circumstances soon occurred which indicated the value set upon his opinions. An enlightened and religious citizen of Amsterdam, Theodore Roornhert, had, for some time past, expressed violent hostility to Calvin's doctrine of predestination. As this was one of the favourite tenets of the Church in Holland, Roornhert was declared a heretic and libertine.

But this sentence tended in nowise to the silencing of the dispute; and Arminius was formally requested by the authorities of Amsterdam to refute the sentiments of Roornhert. A new feature, however, was given to the dispute by the clergy of Delft. Roornhert having affirmed that, according to the doctrine of Geneva, God was made the author of sin, these divines allowed that the views of Calvin's strictest followers ought to be taken with some degree of limitation. Thus, while Beza and others represented the eternal counsel of God as necessitating even the fall itself, the theologians of Delft considered that the decree ought to be viewed as referring only to events subsequent to the fall. It is to this distinction that the two party denominations, *Supralapsarii* and *Infralapsarii* trace their origin. But so doubtful were the divines, who conceived the idea of modifying Calvin's doctrine, of the propriety of their proceedings, that they referred the matter to Martin Lydius of Franeker, beseeching that eminent theologian to decide on the correctness or incorrectness of their views. But Lydius was too well aware of the difficulty attending the question to answer it in the summary way desired; and his experience in dispute taught him to avoid involving himself in the troubles to which even the most laboured reply might lead. He, therefore, wisely desired the clergy of Delft to leave the subject

cavere, ut nullis inanibus argutiis te ipsum irretias; et quoties nova quædam tibi in mentem veniant, diligenter illa, quantumlibet in initio tibi illa ariserunt, excutere, priusquam approbes.—Beza, Philip. Parcum. in Vit. D. Parei., c. 67. Bayle.

* Brant. Hist. Vitæ I. Arminii, p. 33.

in the hands of Arminius, and to rest satisfied with the zeal which he was likely to evince in defending the opinions of a man so much revered as Beza.

Arminius was appealed to accordingly; and he straightway set his active and ingenious mind to the task of unravelling the many twisted lines of argument in which the doctrine of predestination lay involved. Surely few men can have had stronger claims on sympathy than Arminius when commencing the investigation to which he was thus called. Many signs existed, that the peace of the Church would, sooner or later, be disturbed by the questions of Roornhert. Arminius enjoyed, at present, the esteem and affection of the principal men in the community to which he belonged. They looked to him as the champion of orthodoxy; and daily was it expected that the rich stores of knowledge which he had accumulated would be poured forth in clear and happy explications of the creed of his Church.

But while the clergy of Amsterdam and Delft were eagerly awaiting the judgment of Arminius in favour of their views, Arminius himself was suffering intense anxiety and alarm. Doubts had for some time possessed his mind respecting the popular notion of predestination. As he continued to pursue his inquiries, these doubts strengthened into a conviction that the doctrines of his masters in theology were not based on scripture, or on correct views of the divine will. But this conviction was attended with alarming prospects of the surprise and indignation to be anticipated from the discovery of his sentiments. Prudence dictated the propriety of his using the utmost caution in such a matter. He might have erred in his argument: his mind might not be so thoroughly convinced as, for the moment, he supposed; and charity to others rendered it expedient that nothing should be done which might create excitement.

In the case of a mere scholar these prudential suggestions might have been easily obeyed. But Arminius was a preacher, and concealment with a sincere and earnest minister of the gospel is next to impossible. The real character of his opinions and feelings, even on the mi-

nutest points, is sure to discover itself, not, perhaps, in formal statements, in set propositions, but in the tone of his expressions, in the nature of his illustrations, and the general tendency of his reasoning.

It was in a sermon preached on the fourteenth verse of the seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans that Arminius first gave any intimation of his new opinions.* The language of his discourse was anxiously examined. It did not bear directly upon the subject of predestination; but it was considered as strongly tinctured with Pelagianism. Suspicion being once awakened, Arminius was no longer allowed to pursue his inquiries undisturbed. The magistrates summoned him to give an account of his doctrine; and he found himself compelled to enter into an engagement that he would preach nothing contrary to the formularies of the Netherland Church, or to the Heidelberg catechism.

This assurance might have procured him a temporary repose. But his feelings were now too much aroused to allow of his concealing the results of his inquiry. In discoursing on the ninth chapter of the Romans, he spoke with a plain desire to show, that it was not so clearly in favour of high predestinarian doctrine as Calvin asserted. Though he stated nothing directly against the Geneva system, this effort to weaken the main arguments on which it rested was sufficient to excite still stronger suspicions of his orthodoxy. But the storm passed by, and, in an interval of quiet, Arminius sought the opinions and aid of the most celebrated divines of his country. Franciscus Junius was at that time professor of theology at Leyden, and enjoyed a high reputation for learning and piety. Arminius interchanged letters with this distinguished man; but there was an indefiniteness

* Cum pervenisset at cap. vii. totum illud, et præsertim posteriorem illius partem, à vers. 14 ad finem usque, de homine irrogenito, cujus miseriam apostolus sub suâ personâ describat, interpretatus est. De hac explicatione, duce præsertim Petro Plancio, lis mota fuit, Arminioque objectum, quod suâ explicatione se doctrinæ in Ecclesiâ receptæ opponeret, et opinioni Pelagianæ patrocinaretur. Verum prudentia magistratus lis hæc composita fuit; et Arminius scriptum concinnavit de sensu cap. vii., ad Rom., quo ostendit, sententiam suam esse consentaneam sacræ scripturæ et doctrinæ omnium patrum ante Augustinum, quia et nonnullorum doctorum Reformatorum.—Limborch. Relatio Historica de Origine et Progressu Controversiarum in Fœderato Belgio de Prædestinatione, p. 5.

and timidity in the answers sent to his questions, which convinced him that little profit was to be derived from the correspondence. John Witenbogat was another celebrated divine of the day, and one of the most eloquent preachers which the Dutch Church had produced. The views of Arminius had long attracted his notice; and his ardent friendship served, in no slight degree, to animate their author to speak more openly and boldly on his favourite topics.

Notwithstanding the jealousy with which Arminius had now for some time been viewed, his united ability and virtuous character had obtained him great interest among the more wealthy and powerful members of the community. Through their influence he was appointed, on the death of Junius, to the vacant chair of theology at Leyden. His new position rendered it still more incumbent on him than before to explain and defend his views. As his followers increased, and manifested their growing admiration of the eloquence and acuteness with which he argued in favour of God's universal compassion for fallen man, the impulse to a bolder line of argument became irresistible; and Arminius no longer hesitated to declare the more striking parts of his system.

Associated with him in the theological faculty was Franciscus Gomarus, a man of no mean attainments or capacity, but as anxious and ready to support the extreme doctrines of Calvin, as Arminius was to oppose them. In a public dispute which they held together, Arminius freely declared that he utterly renounced the errors of Pelagius, and agreed with Augustine and his followers in what they had written against them. This acknowledgment was considered as a fair ground for peace, and it was hoped that nothing would again occur to disturb the tranquillity of the university. After a short time, however, Arminius introduced again the subject of predestination, and publicly taught, that it is the counsel of God's good pleasure in Christ, determined from eternity, to justify believers, to accept them as his children, and to grant them, to the praise of his grace, everlasting life. Reprobation, on the other hand, he described as a counsel of wrath, or of God's severe will, according to which He

from eternity has resolved to condemn to eternal death those unbelievers who, through their own guilt, and by the righteous judgment of God, do not believe, and are therefore cut off from Christ, in order that thereby his anger and power may be openly declared.*

It was generally supposed that, by this account of his belief, Arminius would find the anger of his opponents still further subdued; but Gomarus, far from being satisfied, took occasion to observe, with pointed reference to his associate, that the reformed churches, and more particularly Calvin and Beza, had been most unjustly accused of making God the author of sin. Arminius replied, that wilfully to make God the author of sin was very different from teaching out of mere ignorance that which might be construed into such an assertion; that the reformed churches ought not to be confounded with Calvin and Beza, since it was far from correct to impute to a church that which was merely taught by individuals, whose names, however famous, could afford no assurance that they were free from error. And further, it was not just to accuse of Pelagianism those who opposed the view of predestination adopted by Gomarus; for that the history of antient synods, and the instance of Augustine himself, proved that this doctrine might be rejected without any tendency to Pelagianism; but that the immediate inference from the arguments of Gomarus was, that God is the author of sin.†

* Brantius. *Vita Jac. Arm.*, p. 207. It was the desire of Arminius in this dispute so to frame his sentences that no one might justly blame him, or accuse him of detracting from the respect due to Calvin and Beza: *parcens ipsorum nominibus, neminemque aliter sentientem perstringens*. Soon after this disputation he published certain Theses, in one of which occurred the assertion, *Nullam esse absolutam in rebus, præter Deum necessitatem, imò ne ignem quidem urere necessariò; sed omnem, quæ in rebus seu eventibus sit, necessitatem, nihil aliud esse quam relationem causæ ad effectum*. This excited fresh hostility against him.—Limborch. *Relatio Historica de Origine et Progressu Controversiarum in Fœderato Belgio de Prædestinatione*, p. 209.

† Arminius did not intend this to be taken in the worst sense, or as a wanton blasphemy on the part of Gomarus. He always asserted that it was an inference only from the doctrine of Calvin. The actual assertion is said to have been made by certain heretics in the second century, and to have been amply refuted by Irenæus. "What arguments," says Heylyn, "the good father used to cry down this blasphemy (for a heresie is a name too milde for so lewd a doctrine), I cannot gather from my author, but such they were, so operative and effectual in stopping the current of the mischief, that either Florinus and the rest had no followers at all (as most hereticks

To the grave accusation with which he was thus assailed, Gomarus replied by advancing against Arminius the counter charge of representing the divine decrees as depending on the conduct of men, and not on God him-

had), or such as never attained to the height of their master's impudence. And so that damnable doctrine (the doctrine of devils I may call it) seems to be strangled in the birth, or to be buried in the same grave with the authors of it, never revived in more than thirteen hundred years after the death of Irenæus, when it was again started by the libertines, a late brood of sectaries, whom each of the two opposite parties are ashamed to own. This taught, as did Florinus, in the primitive times, *Quicquid ego, &c., tu facimus, Deus efficit; nam in nobis est*; that whatsoever thing they did, was God's working in them; and therefore God to be intitled to those wicked actions which themselves committed. The time of their first breakings out affirmed to be about the year 1529. The founders of this sect, Loppinus and Quintinus, Flemings both; and this Prateolus affirms for certain to be the progeny of Calvin, and other leading men of the protestant churches. They came (saith he), *e schola nostræ tempestatis evangelicorum*. Bellarmine, somewhat more remissly, *Omnino probabile est, eos ex Calvinianis promanasse*; and makes it only probable that it might be so, but not rightly neither. The libertines breaking out, as before was said, anno 1527, when Calvin was of little credit, and the name of Calvinists, or Calvinians, not so much as heard of. And on the other side, Paræus, professor of divinity in the university of Heidelberg, writing some animadversions on the cardinal's works, assures us that they were both papists, acquaints us with the place of their nativity, and the proceedings had against them. Nor was Calvin wanting, for his part, to purge himself from such an odious imputation, not only by confuting their opinions in a set discourse, but making one Francisus Porquius, a franciscan fryer, to be a chief stickler in the cause. Against which I know nothing that can be said, but that the doctrine of the libertines, in this particular, doth hold more correspondence with Calvin's principles than any of the received positions of the fryers of St. Francis. But, whether it were so or not, I shall make this inference, that the doctrine must needs be most impious which both sides detested, which the papists laboured so industriously to father on the schools of Calvin, and the Calvinians no less passionately to charge on some of our great masters in the Church of Rome.

"But so it is, that though the impiety was too gross to appear bare fac'd, yet there have been too many, both in the elder and these latter times, who, entertaining in their hearts the same dreadful madness, did recommend it to the world under a disguise, though they agreed not at all in that masque or vizard which was put upon it. Of this sort *Manes* was the first, by birth of Persia, and founder of the damnable sect of the Manicheans, anno 273, or thereabouts. This wretch, considering how unsuccessfully Florinus had sped before, in making God (who is all and only good) to be the author of sin, did first excogitate two Gods, the one good and the other evil, both of like eternity; ascribing all pious actions to the one, all sins and vices to the other; which ground so laid, he utterly deprived the will of man of that natural liberty of which it is by God invested; and therefore that in man there was no ability of resisting sin, or not submitting unto any of those wicked actions which his lusts and passions offered to him: '*Condendebant, item, peccatum non esse à libero arbitrio, sed à demone, & eapropter non posse per liberum arbitrium impediri*,' as my author hath it. Nor did they only leave man's will in a disability of hindering or resisting the incursions of sin, but they left it also under an incapability of acting any thing in order to the works of righteousness, though God might graciously vouchsafe his assisting grace, making no difference in this case betwixt a living man and a

self; and of filling the human mind with pride, by inculcating the notion, that right sentiments, rather than divine grace, are the foundation of safety.

This, it appears, put an end to the hope of conciliation. Arminius became more and more an object of hatred to the high Calvinistic party. The pulpits resounded with denunciations of his errors; and the slightest indication of their being regarded with tolerance was sufficient to bring down upon the suspected person the weightiest threats and anathemas.

Arminius himself beheld the rage of his enemies with sorrow rather than resentment. "I know," he said to one of his friends, "and my conscience bears me witness, that I have neither said nor done any thing which

stock or status, for so it follows in my author: '*Sed & nullam prorsus voluntati tribuebant actionem, nec quidem adjuvante spiritu sancto: quasi nihil interesset inter statum & voluntatem.*' In both directly contrary to that divine council of St. James, where he adviseth us 'to lay apart all filthiness and superfluity of naughtiness, and to receive with meekness the ingrafted word, which is able to save your souls.' Chap. i., ver. 21. That of St. Peter, exhorting, or requiring rather, 'that we work out our salvation with fear and trembling.' And, finally, that golden aphorism of St. Augustine: '*Si non sit liberum arbitrium, quomodo Deus judicabit mundum?*' 'With what justice,' saith the father, 'can God judge or condemn the world, if the sins of men proceed not from their own free will, but from some over-ruling power which enforced them to it?'

"Others there were, who, harbouring in their hearts the said lewd opinions, and yet not daring to ascribe all their sins and wickednesses unto God himself, imputed the whole blame thereof to the stars and destinies; the powerful influence of the one, and the irresistible decrees of the other, necessitating men to those wicked actions which they so frequently commit. Thus we are told of Bardesanes, '*Quod fato conversationes hominum ascriberet*'; that he ascribed all things to the power of fate. And thus it is affirmed of Priscillianus, '*Fatalibus astris homines alligatos*'; that men were thrall'd unto the stars; which last St. Augustine doth report of one Colarbus, save that he gave this power and influence to the planets only; but these, if pondered as they ought, differed but little, if at all, from the impiety of Florinus before remembered, only it was expressed in a better language, and seemed to savour more of the philosopher than the other did. For, if the Lord had passed such an irresistible law of fate, that such and such should be guilty of such foul transgressions as they commonly committed, it was all one as if he was proclaimed for the author of them: and then why might not every man take unto himself the excuse and plea of Agamemnon: '*It was not I that did it, but the gods and destiny?*' Or, if the Lord had given so irresistible a power to the stars of heaven, as to enforce men to be wickedly and lewdly given, what differs this from making God the author of those vitious actions, to which by them we are enforced? and then, why might not every man cast his sin on God, and say, as did some good fellows in St. Augustine's time: '*Accusandum potius esse auctorem syderum, quam commissorem scelorum*'; 'that he who made the stars was in the fault, not the men that did it.'—Heylyn, *Quinquarticular History of the Western Churches*, part II., c. 1.; *Tracts*, p. 506.

can justly cause offence to Gomarus. Readily, ill as he has treated me, could I become friends with him. It is not allowed me to hate any one, or to prolong anger, however justly conceived. This is the lesson taught me in word, in spirit, and example, by that God whom the scriptures describe to us. Oh! that he would teach me to be moved by nothing except that which may be rightly laid to my charge. It is not for me to direct what another should say or do, and foolish would it be on my part to allow another the power of troubling me at his will. *Hic murus aheneus esto; nil conscire sibi.* I will pursue my search begun in the pursuit of truth, and I will adhere to it with God's good help, though I should encounter the hatred and contempt of the whole world. The disciple is not above his master."*

A series of annoyances was the consequence of this state of things in the university. Nothing was neglected whereby either the credit or the repose of Arminius might be injured. Compelled to be perpetually on the watch, his noble talents had scarcely any other occupation than that of discovering some new point of controversy, or framing apologies for what he believed to be the line of truth and duty. In alluding to the subjects which perpetually engaged his attention, he says, "Two offences there are which I strive most anxiously to avoid, the one lest God should be constituted the author of sin; the other, lest human will should be deprived of its liberty: which two errors being avoided, I will allow a man to ascribe whatever he pleases to the providence of God, with no other caution than that which is demanded by the divine perfections." About the same time he published his Thesis on Free Will, respecting which he observed, that he had studied nothing but the peace of the Church; that he had introduced nothing even bordering upon falsehood, but that he had kept silence as to some things which are true, knowing, indeed, that the rule respecting silence, in regard to what is true, is not the same as that which forbids the uttering of what is false, of which two things it is impossible

* Brantius. Vita Jacob. Arminii, p. 215.

that the latter should ever be lawful; while the former is and must be very often expedient.*

The disputes at Leyden began now to attract the notice of the clergy in all parts of the country. Tranquillity had long prevailed in the Dutch Church; and though many of its members, it is said, were known to dislike the high Calvinistic doctrines, the adoption of which was a common sign of orthodoxy, this feeling had not caused any open rupture, and no attempt was made to force the suspected dissidents into a confession of their error. But the importance of the question at issue had gradually become more apparent both to the clergy and the people. Probably also in this, as in some other cases, there was a desire of excitement, a growing restlessness and ambition, which induced many who had never, from any legitimate cause, been induced to enter on the field of controversy, to turn an envious eye towards Leyden and its schools.

Arminius had conceived the hope that, notwithstanding all which had occurred, Gomarus and he might ultimately be reconciled. "I trust," said he, in a letter to one of his most intimate friends, "that peace between Gomarus and me will be firmly established, unless, indeed, he give ear to those who wish to fulfil their own prophecies by making our contentions perpetual. I, for my part, will leave nothing undone which may contribute to this end; but will endeavour to make my modesty and equanimity manifest to all, that the cause which I support may be understood to depend only on its goodness and intrinsic merits."

While these sentiments, so favourable to tranquillity, were cultivated by Arminius, Gomarus himself answered them with similar feelings. But the prospect of peace was speedily lost. Certain deputies arrived at Leyden, both from North and South Holland, charged with the duty, as they stated, of inquiring into the truth of the reports which had reached their provinces respecting the new doctrines. In obedience to their

* Brantius. Vita, p. 242. The Thesis to which this alludes is the eleventh in the Public Disputations, and shows clearly the caution with which Arminius stated his views.—Opera Theolog., p. 210.

instructions, they desired Arminius to expound his views, and to allow of a dispute between himself and certain candidates for theological honours, who formed part of their company. Arminius replied, with becoming dignity, that the course pursued was, in the highest degree, displeasing and unbecoming; for that, if he were to obey the wishes of the deputies, no student in divinity would ever startle his professor by any particular remark, but it would be used as an excuse for driving him into some fresh dispute. When this, and similar reasons, failed to convince the deputies of the impropriety of their demand, he added, that he could not grant their request without the formal permission of the synod; and, still more, that he was by no means aware of having ever propounded doctrines which contradicted either scripture, the confession, or the catechism. But, lest they should suspect him of fear or inability, he offered, if they would lay aside their character as deputies, and confer with him as private individuals, to enter the arena with any of the company, and fully explain and defend his opinions.

This offer not being acceptable to the deputies, they took their departure; but a few days after, he was visited by some members of the ecclesiastical senate at Leyden. They came to repeat the request of the deputies, but met with a similar answer; and nothing remained for them but to press the subject, in its most suspicious form, upon the attention of the general synod, which held about this time its annual meeting. The allusion which was accordingly made to the disputes at Leyden provoked not only Arminius, but Gomarus and the other professors of the university. A meeting took place between them, and they unanimously agreed to the declaration, that although circumstances existed which had caused them to dispute with each other more frequently than was well, no dissension prevailed among the professors of theology on fundamental points, and that, with regard even to the rest, they would use their efforts to lessen, as far as possible, the causes of contention.

Gomarus himself beheld, with regret, the bad spirit which existed in those who were thus fanning the flames of controversy. "Easily," he said to his friends, "could I cultivate peace with Arminius, but for the importunity of the churches, and of those deputies who are ever opposing some obstacle to my wish." At the meeting of another synod fresh attempts were made to bring on the wished-for disputation. The curators of the university wisely opposed the measure. A more private course was then taken; and Arminius, on discovering the machinations of his enemies, began to despair of tranquillity. "How difficult is it," he exclaimed, "in this unhappy age, and amid such excitement of spirits, to pursue both truth and peace! Were it not that the consciousness of integrity, the judgment of some few good men, and the open and manifest results which attend my labours, add strength to my resolution, I should scarcely remain unmoved. But, blessed be God, He gives vigour to my mind, and constancy, and makes me almost feel secure whatever the end may be!"

The love of peace was a marked feature in the character and conduct of Arminius. He had never sought controversy; and when led into it by circumstances, or a strong sense of duty, he did continual violence to the pride which his extensive erudition and talents were calculated to inspire, rather than utter a word which might tend to prolong discord. Even at the present advanced period of the controversy, he watched every thought and expression which the subjects on which he was engaged prompted; and, painful as it must have been to his active and powerful mind, rigidly confined himself within the limits marked by the catechism and the confession.*

* The following is the account of the state of things as viewed by his opponents: "Ostensum quoque synodo fuit, passim in ecclesiis dissensiones quotidie magis magisque augescere: plerosque juvenes ex academia Leydensi atque Arminii disciplina prodeuntes ad Ecclesiarum Ministerium vocatos, in examinibus quidem sententiam suam ambiguis loquendi modis, occultare, ubi vero ad ministerium admissi essent novas statim disputationes movere, opiniones propugnare, variasque se adversus doctrinam receptam habere considerationes gloriari. In classibus et presbyteriis inter pastores de plerisque doctrinæ capitibus dissensiones atque altercationes acerbæ

There is ever a danger attending discussions like those here spoken of, which few who engage in them are ready to perceive. Arminius was superior to the temptations of a vulgar popularity; but we find that the number of his auditors was now perpetually on the increase. The evil which must have resulted from the constant effort to describe, in common familiar language, mysteries the most sublime and awful, is incalculable; and it is highly probable, that much of the infidelity which polluted a succeeding age, was the fruit of the rude manner in which, shortly after the Reformation, the higher principles of theology were discussed in public assemblies. That Arminius employed any artifice to crowd his lecture-rooms is not for a moment to be suspected; but his own purity of intention did not, in any way, lessen the danger of the excitement which he produced. He was suspected of heresy; of believing that the received creed was erroneous; of wishing to introduce unauthorized views of divine justice; and when his eloquent discourses fell, with a species of fascination, on the ears of his auditors, it was not to be wondered at if they began to feel that heresy, schism and novelty were not such terrible enemies to religion as their instructors hitherto had persuaded them to suppose.

Justice to the opponents of Arminius would teach us to believe, that it was not mere envy or partisanship, which made them look with regret on the increase of his popularity. But it appears, that however much might be laid to his charge, the conduct of his detractors was far more deserving of reprobation. The greater portion of what he had taught was couched in a language which confined it to scholars. But his enemies, laying hold of what they considered the most objectionable points of his system, unfolded them in the most popular discourses they could frame, and soon rendered opinions which had hitherto been regarded as too

oriri. In ipso quoque populo magna cum Ecclesiarum offensione ac perturbatione disceptationes de doctrina varias audiri; quin et schismatum initia conspici. Pastores enim Arminio addictos, conventus crebros, in quibus, de doctrinæ suæ propagatione deliberarent separatim instituire, populumque in partes magis magisque abire.—*Prefatio ad Ecclesiæ. Acta Synodi.*

difficult for any but the highest class of minds to debate, the common subject of conversation in every circle.

The necessity of some authoritative interference became daily more apparent. A national synod offered the only hope of restored tranquillity. It was known to have been the medium of conciliation in numberless other cases; and men of all parties had long given up the notion that mere partial interference would be sufficient for the purpose. The danger which Arminius encountered in the present state of affairs, was shown more conspicuously than ever in the suspicions which attended his discussion of the doctrine of the Trinity. Every expression that he uttered was twisted so as to convey to prejudiced minds some wrong notion; and had not his piety and faithful devotion to the gospel, in all its fully-declared and exhibited truths, been placed beyond a doubt with men of even common candour, he would soon have been numbered among those whose pride of reason has set at nought the most essential of divine revelations.*

Provincial synods now assumed a new importance, it being generally hoped that they would prepare the way for an assembly which should represent the Church at large. In one of these synods, which held its meetings at the Hague, some of the most weighty points were discussed that could claim the attention of any preparatory assembly.† It was inquired, whether the votes of the delegated ministers alone were finally to determine the questions proposed, and according to what rule their judgment was to be formed; whether, that is, they were to be bound, or not, to deliver their sentence freely, and without respect to any other authority than that of the Holy Scriptures. To this Arminius and his followers replied in the affirmative; and no one had the courage, it seems, directly to oppose this implied assertion of the sufficiency of scripture. But it was subsequently asked, whether it would not be lawful for

* The controversy alluded to arose in this way: One of the students of theology, during a public exercise asserted, "that the Son of God, *αυτοθεον* esse, suamque, adeo essentiam non à patre, sed à se ipso habere."—Brantius. Vit. Jacob. Arm.

† Acta Synodi. Prefatio ad Ecclesias.

the judges to bring to their help the confession of the Belgic churches? Arminius immediately answered, that he recognized and received the confession as a formulary of agreement, but not as a rule of sense (*non pro norma sensus*), and that, therefore, if the confession itself, or any part or iota of it, should be involved in the dispute, it ought not to be referred to in the decision of the judges, which should be founded solely on the Word of God. Nay, further, that the judges, while employed in this matter, ought to be freed from the obligation imposed on them by their subscription, that thus they might enjoy perfect liberty to decide according to their conscience.*

Gomarus, in stating his opinion on the subject, acknowledged that the Word of God was the primary rule of faith; but that the confession and catechism ought to be revived as the secondary rule. Bogermannus, not content with this, asserted, and that in the most pertinacious manner, that the scriptures themselves were to be interpreted according to the confession and catechism. Arminius strongly rebutted this assertion, and showed that if it were to be taken as true, the whole work of the Reformation would be exposed to immediate ruin.†

The catechism of Gouda, a work which the exigencies of the times seemed to demand, appeared about this time. It was compiled professedly for the use of children, and consisted only of such simple and primary truths as could be expressed in scripture terms. The faults of this book, whatever they might be, were ascribed to Arminius and his party. When praise was given to its elementary character, it was objected, that many of the most important articles of faith were not noticed in its pages; and when its simplicity was spoken of with admiration, it was again answered, that simplicity accorded very well with the primitive times, but not with an advanced period, in which evils of every kind abounded, and to which there was necessarily required a corresponding variety of remedies.‡ But the most painful of the tasks which Arminius had to perform, was that of defending himself against the

* Brantius, Vit. p. 308.

† Ibid., p. 311.

‡ Ibid., p. 332.

charge of having composed five articles of faith now generally circulated through the country under his name. Nothing could exceed his indignation and distress on the first discovery of this circumstance. He had reason to believe that the articles were from the pen of a certain divine whom he had met in one of the late synods. On challenging the suspected person, he was told that the articles in question were not put forth as declaring his particular creed or sentiments, but to serve as an index to the subjects at present disputed in the university of Leyden. The points treated of were *predestination, the fall of Adam, free-will, original sin, and the eternal salvation of infants.*

On the assembling of the synod at the Hague, Arminius brought the matter before the notice of his brethren, and the articles having been read, he solemnly declared that he had not written the articles, and that they by no means expressed his belief. On this, one of the clergy present remarked, that the assembly would be thankful if he would state what part of those articles he rejected, and what he received, that somewhat of his sentiments might be better known. Arminius replied, that the assembly had not been called for the purpose of hearing his defence; and the subject was allowed to drop. But both he and Witenbogart, who had so long been associated with him in the strictest friendship and community of sentiments, were subjected every day to increasing calumny. They were actually accused of seeking the favour of the pope; of commending to their followers the writings of priests and jesuites; of speaking with contempt of Calvin, Beza, Peter Martyr, and the other reformers; and of receiving for all these services a stipend from the court of Rome. Arminius felt that such reports were both too wicked and too absurd to deserve attention, and he remarked, that the authors of them ought to be viewed with commiseration, blinded as they were by malice, and incurring as they did the guilt of sinning against God and their neighbour. "As for me," he said, "the diligence of my friends has saved me from suffering any bad consequences from these slanders; and no other effect has followed but that I, wretched

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creature as I am, and incapable of making myself conspicuous by any virtue or merit, should be spoken of far beyond the limits of my own country, and rendered more conspicuous and honourable every day that I live."

To show, however, the absolute falsehood of the reports alluded to, he declared that he had never even named to his pupils the books which he was accused of recommending for their daily study. On the contrary, he adds, "After the reading of scripture, the duty of which I ever most earnestly inculcate, and more indeed than any one else, to the truth of which assertion the whole university and the conscience of my colleagues will bear testimony, I exhort my hearers to study the commentaries of Calvin, which I fail not to speak of with the highest praise For I say that he is incomparable in the interpretation of scripture, and that his commentaries are of more value than whatever the *Patrum Bibliotheca* furnishes, so that I am ready to concede, that there was in him a more excellent spirit of prophecy than in others, nay than in any other. I moreover direct his Institutions to be read after the catechism, as affording a fuller illustration of common places; and that of all writers his works ought to be perused with diligence. There are numberless witnesses of the truth of this statement, but not one to prove that I ever recommended the study of any of the books issued by the jesuites."*

In a letter to the public orator of the prince Palatine, he says, "Would to the Lord, that I were able to obtain even this from my brethren in religion and profession, that they would believe me to be, at least, in some degree touched with conscience towards God! which, indeed, Christian charity would easily obtain for me, if they would only consider its nature and requirements. What good can possibly arise to me from dissension; from indulging the pride of intellect; from making a schism in the Church of Christ, of which, by the grace of God and of Christ, I profess myself a member. If my accusers suppose that I am incited by ambition or

* Epis. ad Seb. Egb. inter Ep. Eccles. p. 185. Vit. p. 337.

avarice, I sincerely declare they have not known me. So thoroughly free am I from such temptations that they have never assailed me, though, had they done so, I should not have wanted arguments of apology or palliation. I have no other than an honest anxiety urging me forwards, and impelling me to inquire with all diligence into the meaning of scripture, and, when it is found, to set it forth calmly and peaceably, without any attempt to force my views on others, or to lord it over their faith, but only with this desire, that I may win some souls to Christ, and may myself become to him a sweet odour, and a fair name in the Church of the saints. And to this, I trust, through divine grace, and after much patience, to attain, although I may be a reproach to my brethren, even to those who worship and invoke with me the one God and Father of us all, and the one Lord Jesus Christ, in one Spirit, and with the same faith, and who have one hope with me of an inheritance in heaven through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ. The Lord will grant I hope (and would that that blessed and holy day already shone upon us!) that we may meet in tranquil and Christian conference on the things pertaining thereto; in which I promise, by divine grace, to shew that moderation of temper, and love towards truth and peace, which ought to be looked for from the servant of Christ." *

The expectation that a general synod would shortly assemble gave a new impulse to the zeal of those who desired nothing so much as the ruin of Arminius. But there were many difficulties attending the arrangements for such a meeting. Among these, the chief was that which arose from the necessity of determining in what light the synod was to regard the confession and catechism. In the high church party it seemed to be generally understood, that to give up the right of appeal to these formularies would very greatly lessen the strength of their cause. Arminius, on the other hand, was as firm in asserting that these human compositions ought not to be introduced in such an investigation as was proposed by the synod. Alluding to this subject in

* Brantius. Vit. p. 341.

a letter to one of his friends, he says, " In Jehovah is my trust, and my help is in his word alone, for the truth, the perfection and perspicuity of which, against all the traditions of men, whatever they may be, I will not cease to contend, while God mercifully continues to give me life; neither will I ever suffer any other rule, whether under the name of secondary, or any other title, to be obtruded on the Church of Christ, besides that which is comprehended in the books of the Old and New Testaments. And I see that this determination is necessary even among us, who did not thus formerly argue against the papists. But now, as deserting our standard, we do not blush to prescribe to churches and their ministers confessions and catechisms as affording a rule for the interpretation of scripture."*

However much the meeting of a general synod was to be desired, if means could be employed to secure the fairness of its proceedings, Arminius and Witenbogat saw plainly that they could place little dependence on a meeting convened under circumstances like the present. The reasonableness of their apprehensions was not denied, and it was at length determined, that a meeting of senators and other authorities should take place at the Hague, and that in their presence Gomarus and Arminius should make a full statement of their respective views. This resolution was no doubt hastened by the unceasing complaints made to the authorities respecting the state of things at Leyden. Bertius, the eloquent author of the far-famed oration pronounced at the death of Arminius, held at that time a distinguished place among the professors of the university. A letter of his still remains, in which he describes the melancholy consequences of the disputes existing between the principal theological teachers. Having expressed his earnest hope that the proposed colloquy would terminate in the restoration of tranquillity, he says, " This variety of views has not only disturbed many minds, but rendered the performance of my duties, never very

* *Confessiones et catecheses, utpote, à doctis viris conscriptas, variis judiciis adprobatas, temporis diuturnitate (incipiunt enim xl. annorum præscriptionem proferre) firmatas, sanguine martyrum corroboratas, tanquam traditiones, ad quarum normam scripturæ explicari debeant.*—Vit. p. 347.

easy, far more difficult. I have desired my pupils to attend the lectures of both professors, without distinction. I urge this upon them as a matter by no means to be neglected. Without any partiality I repeat the readings of each, and endeavour, as I hate strife myself, so to remove it from the college. Hence it happens, that some of my pupils embrace the opinions of Gomarus, and some those of Arminius, but modestly, fearing the synod, and dreading a repulse when they offer themselves for the ministry. I hear, indeed, from some, that all who are known to attend Arminius are treated as suspected persons, and judged unfit for either the Church or the schools. Hence my own exertions, and the labour of Arminius, have been utterly lost, and it follows, that what our scholars have learnt they must unlearn, and revoke the opinions received in their unprejudiced minds. If there be no remedy for this, far better would it be if they had never studied, or had never seen Arminius, since he puts forth doctrines which can only be known under the infamous title of heresy."

On the day appointed for the meeting, a numerous assembly prepared to determine the important questions at issue between Arminius and Gomarus. The latter was accordingly directed to declare, without circumlocution, what was the nature of the difference existing between him and his colleague. Gomarus replied, that however much he respected the distinguished persons before whom he appeared, he could not allow that they had any proper jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs, and that as it was ever proper to render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, so it was commanded to render unto God the things which are God's, and to obey him rather than man. On being pressed, however, for an answer, he observed, "that it was unjust to make him the accuser of Arminius, with whom he had lived on terms of friendship, and when, moreover, he was not quite acquainted with the nature of the sentiments which his colleague had diffused, either in his public or private readings." When further urged to speak more plainly, he said, "that there did exist some difference between him and Arminius, but that it seemed inconsistent with, and prejudicial to,

the liberty of the Church, to explain at such a time, and in such a place, in what that difference had arisen."

Arminius had hitherto kept silence; but the apparent disingenuousness of Gomarus provoked him, and he exclaimed, "that he could not refrain from expressing his astonishment at hearing it pretended, that any difficulty existed as to the exposure of his views, or as to the cause of dissension between him and his colleague, for that the reports of his heterodoxy were industriously spread abroad, and he was accused of lighting a fire, the flames of which were already towering above the pinnacles of the Church."

Gomarus, compelled now to speak, observed, "that Arminius had taught opinions which contradicted the first article of the Christian faith, that is, 'Of the justification of man before God,' and the view taken of it in scripture, and the confession of the Belgic churches." To prove this assertion, he quoted passages from the writings of Arminius, and particularly one in which he said, "that in the justification of man before God, the righteousness of Christ is not imputed for righteousness, but that faith itself, or *à credere*, is, through the gracious acceptance of God, the righteousness whereby we are justified." Gomarus desired that this statement of the doctrine of justification, as set forth by Arminius, might be inserted in the records; but Arminius objected, and demanded that the statement might be taken from his own lips. He then added, "I declare, abhorring as I do all unnecessary contention, that I hold for true, pious and holy, the doctrine of justification before God, from faith through faith, or from the imputation of faith unto righteousness, as comprehended in the harmony of confessions set forth by all churches; and that I approve thereof, and ever have approved it, and do rest therein. Yea, and that my zeal for the peace of the reformed and protestant churches may the more clearly appear, I solemnly affirm, that if any necessity arise for my expressing more distinctly and accurately, in writing, my opinion on this subject, which I am prepared to defend by strong arguments against all objections, I shall willingly submit what I have written to the judg-

ment of all the churches, so that if, the cause being properly recognized by those who have authority over me, they believe that the doctrine stated, and the propounder thereof, ought not to be tolerated, I will either give up my opinion, as better instructed, or lay down my office."

This declaration, however, seemed to make no impression upon Gomarus and his party. Arminius, therefore, resumed; and still expressing his earnest desire for peace, proceeded to make his confession on the subject of justification in the very words of the catechism, adding, "I believe with my heart, and confess with my mouth, that I am justified before God only by faith in Jesus Christ, so that, although my conscience accuse me of having grievously sinned against the commandments of God, for I have kept none of them, but am constantly prone to evil, nevertheless, without any merit of my own, and from the mere mercy of God, the satisfaction, righteousness, and sanctity of Christ are imputed to me, even as if I had never committed sin, and were free from all contamination; yea, as if I myself had rendered that obedience which Christ has rendered for me. Not that by the worthiness of my faith I can please God, but because my righteousness in the sight of God consists solely in the righteousness and holiness of Christ; and these I embrace and apply to myself by no other means than faith."

Gomarus endeavoured to urge another objection to the statement of Arminius; but many of the members of the senate began to exhibit impatience at his proceeding, and described the contest as nothing more than a strife of words, since both parties made justification to depend not on the merit of human works, but on the grace of God by faith. When Gomarus endeavoured to introduce other points of controversy, the senate informed both him and Arminius, that they were bound to confine themselves to those primary articles in which their dispute had its beginning, and that they must commit their opinions on these points to writing, each submitting his statement to the examination and strictures of his opponent.

Due attention having been paid to the wishes of the senate, that body declared, that there appeared to be nothing of moment in the controversy between the two professors; that it referred only to certain abstruse questions concerning predestination, and that these were such as might either be omitted or repressed by the exercise of mutual tolerance. The professors, and others of the clergy, being then summoned before the orders, the president observed, that praise ought to be given to God that none of the principles of the gospel were the subject of controversy. To this he added, that it was the earnest desire of the assembly that the acts of the conference should not be publicly spoken of; and that nothing might, in future, be said which should either seem opposed to the confession or catechism, or tend in any other way to disturb the peace of the Church.

Gomarus now spoke more openly, and proclaimed aloud, that he dare not stand before God as his judge, were his opinions like those of Arminius; and that unless some remedy were speedily applied, province would soon be set against province, church against church, and city against city. Arminius, in reply, declared, as before, his conscious freedom from heresy, and again expressed his readiness to adopt any course which might seem best calculated to promote the return of peace. The severity of Gomarus excited in the minds of many of the auditors extreme disgust, and they whispered, that they would far rather appear before the divine tribunal with the faith of Arminius than with the charity of Gomarus.*

But distressed, as several men of piety were, at the ill-timed anger of Gomarus, his influence prevailed to the almost entire subjection of the majority of the clergy to his wishes. A letter of Grotius exists in which he says, that having met Witenbogat one day, and found him more than usually sad, he inquired the reason of his depression, and was answered, that though somewhat might be done by the provincial synod, there was every reason to fear that in the Church, as in other communities, the greater would conquer the better part,

* Limborch. *Relatio Historica*. Brantius.

and that that might happen to Arminius which had occurred in the case of Castellio, who, through the violence of his adversaries, was driven at last to cut wood for a morsel of bread.* Such, indeed, were the fears entertained by the friends of Arminius at this time, that they found themselves obliged to dissuade him from publishing an apology in answer to the articles preferred against him by his enemies, lest by the force of his reasoning, proving, as it must, the injustice of those who vilified him, he might provoke them from very shame to work him greater harm.

There is something equally sad and pathetic in the tone of feeling which runs through the writings of Arminius. Never was a great man more free from pride or arrogance; never was any one more anxious to show the real limits of his ability, as contrasted with the extent of the subjects on which it had to be exercised. "There are those, perchance, who will speak insultingly of me, because I sometimes seem to answer doubtfully, when, as they imagine, a doctor and professor of theology, whose office it is to teach others, ought to be confident, and not to fluctuate in his sentiments. I answer to these suggestions, first, that the most learned and the most skilled in scripture must still be ignorant of many things, and that he himself must ever be a scholar in the school of Christ and the scriptures. But he who is ignorant of many things ought surely not to be expected to reply, without a doubt, to the various questions which necessity or circumstances may create, or which may arise in public or private controversy with numerous adversaries. For, far better it is, that when he has no certain knowledge on a particular subject, he should speak doubtfully rather than confidently, and signify that he confesses the need of a daily progress, and is seeking instruction in common with others. I trust, indeed, that no one has yet advanced to such a height of boldness as to pretend, that, being a master, he is ignorant of nothing, and doubtful in nothing. In the second place, I would urge, that all things in a controversy are not of equal importance, for that there are some points respecting

* Grot. Epist. Opus, p. 3. Vita, p. 371.

which no one may doubt who would hold the name of Christian; while there are other things not of that dignity, and on which the defenders of Catholic doctrine have differed among each other without any injury to the truth, or to the peace of Christendom. Nor, in the third place, would I have it considered that my answer is peremptory, not because there is any thing in it which does not agree with my conscience, but because all things which I say are not of the first importance, but suffice to refute the objections made against me, and which rest on no foundation at all."

The accusation was also at this time renewed respecting his inclination to Romanism. To answer the calumnies thus ungenerously diffused for the sake of lowering his credit in the controversy to which he was fairly pledged, he published some theses on the character of the Roman pontiff, on idolatry, and on other points of a similar nature. How any suspicion could have been so long entertained against him on this subject it would be impossible to explain, but for the candour of Arminius himself. The early clamour excited by his visit to Italy served only to prove the ignorance of his accusers, or the extreme irritability of his countrymen on every point which had reference to Romanism. But the ground on which he was charged with holding opinions hostile to the reformed Church had long been changed. The position in which he stood, the wide range of observation which his duties as a professor of theology obliged him to take, naturally led him to make frequent remarks on the great points of controversy between the reformed churches and that of Rome. In whatever he said of this kind, the same zeal, candour and love of truth were exhibited as in his treatment of other subjects. He spoke with a degree of warmth on the corruptions of Rome, and the usurpations of its pontiff,* which would be accounted sufficiently high even in our own days; but his honesty would not allow him to conceal what he felt when contemplating the individual character of some of the popes, and when he had openly declared that he believed the Roman pontiff to be a

* Brantius. Vit. p. 380.

tyrant, a blasphemer, a usurper, the man of sin, and a son of perdition, he added, that this was to be understood of the pontiff discharging the pontifical office in the accustomed manner; but that if any one like Adrian should be exalted to the chair, and should commence from himself and his court the reformation of the Church, and claim no other title or authority than that of bishop, although retaining, according to the antient statutes of the Church, the chief place among the rest, he would not dare to call him by the names above repeated.

This was sufficient to bring down upon him a shower of abuse; and almost overwhelmed with the troubles to which he saw himself more and more exposed, he was frequently heard to utter the melancholy exclamation of Jeremiah, "Woe is me, my mother, that thou hast borne me a man of strife, and a man of contention to the whole earth! I have neither lent on usury, nor men have lent to me on usury; yet every one of them doth curse me." *

But he was not without sympathizing friends among the chief men of the country; and many of those who did not enter into his views were far from joining in the clamour with which his enemies were hurrying him to the grave.† The heads of the republic beheld with regret the species of persecution to which he was daily exposed. Another meeting at the Hague was accordingly determined upon; and Arminius was invited to attend, and declare fully his sentiments on all those matters about which there existed any suspicion of his orthodoxy. He obeyed the summons, and, on the appointed day, and in a very full assembly, pronounced a long oration, containing an account of his views on divine predestination; on grace; free-will; the perseverance of the saints; the certainty of salvation; the perfection of man in this life; the deity of the Son; justification; and the reformation of the confession and catechism.

This oration is said to have been listened to with great admiration; but it produced little actual good;

* Chap. xv. 10.

† He was now in the forty-ninth year of his age.

and the opponents of Arminius, in a synod held at Dort, about this time, seriously proposed that his followers among the clergy should be compelled to state their objections to the confession and catechism, within the space of a month, and under the pain, if they refused, of ecclesiastical censure. Though this monstrous proposition met with the opposition which it deserved, the fiercest spirit of persecution began to exhibit itself in every part of the country. Whenever a provincial synod was held, new attempts were made to inflict, as by authority, the heaviest penalties on the followers of Arminius. Exclusion from the ministry was perpetually spoken of as the proper punishment for such offenders; and when this could not be effected, abuse and calumny were made to supply the place of more destructive instruments.

Both the mind and body of Arminius began to exhibit, daily, more evident marks of the ravages produced on his constitution by the anxieties which he suffered. Scarcely able to drag himself along, he made at every interval of exhausting pain and languor some fresh effort to prove his intense desire to continue his labours to the last. A few months only before his death, he expounded, with force and eloquence, his views on the call of men to salvation. In the course of his address he spoke strongly against the notion of an irresistible and necessitating grace; and observed, that he was neither able nor bold enough to define the mode in which the Holy Spirit performs the work of conversion and regeneration in man; but that if any one dare to attempt it, the responsibility of proof would rest upon him. "I am able," he added, "to say how conversion does not come, but not how it does come; for he only can know this who is able to fathom the deep things of God."

To the last observation it was answered, that there is a grace by which men are certainly converted, and from which the necessity of conversion may be argued. Arminius immediately took up the subject *de necessitate infallibilitatis*, remarking, that he derived neither his rule of speech nor his rule of faith from the schoolmen,

who then began to exist when antichrist was revealed, and whose theology never prevailed till the true and apostolic was driven into exile.

Some Roman Catholic having presented himself, and offered to take part in the disputation, Arminius did not refuse to listen to his arguments, but answered them with his usual force and ingenuity. Gomarus, who was present, exhibited, it is said, a more than ordinary degree of enmity towards his associate; and instead of congratulating him on his evident triumph in combating the arguments of the Romanist, spoke of the whole proceeding as calculated to give a new advantage to the enemies of the reformed Church. Arminius observed, as usual, that he should at all times be ready to defend his opinions before the world; and added, that he was fully convinced that the opinion of Gomarus respecting irresistible grace would be found repugnant to scripture, to antiquity, to the confession, and to the catechism.

It was on the evening of the day on which this dispute took place, that Arminius, who had left home for the baths, was seized with a paroxysm, which led his friends to fear that his end was drawing nigh. But he again rallied, and the brief return of some slight portion of vigour was seized upon to bring him again into the arena of disputation. The preliminaries of the new meeting having been determined on, Arminius and Gomarus once more appeared to encounter each other on the subjects so often debated between them. Justification was the topic first introduced, and the arguments on both sides were speedily brought to bear upon the interpretation of the statement, that faith is counted for righteousness.* Gomarus affirmed, that faith is the instrument of justification. Arminius, on the contrary, denied the truth of this interpretation, and urged, that faith cannot properly be called an instrument, since it is, in fact, an action, and that if it were in anywise an instrument, it would not be the instrument of justification, which is an act of the divine mind, but an instru-

* Rom. iv. 5.

ment of apprehension, or of the reception of Christ the Redeemer, which is a human act, and as such is graciously regarded by a justifying God.

Predestination formed the next subject of debate ; and it was inquired whether God, electing and reprobating by one and the same act, contemplated his creatures, in a vast nothingness, as not created ; or whether he beheld them as already created ; if the latter, whether as sinning or not ; if as sinning, whether as defiled by the sin of Adam only, or as defiled by other sins ; and, lastly, whether he considered those to be elected as faithful and penitent ; and the reprobate as infidels and not penitent, or the contrary. These questions were answered by Gomarus and Arminius according to their respective systems. The grace of God and free-will were next considered. Here both parties readily acknowledged, that man of himself, or by his own powers, can do nothing pertaining to salvation : but Arminius added, that while he recognised all the operations of divine grace in the work of conversion, he did not believe that any species of grace was irresistible. This declaration was immediately taken up by Gomarus, who replied, that in the regeneration of man that grace of the Holy Spirit is necessary, which may operate so efficaciously, that, the resistance of the flesh being overcome, they who are partakers thereof may certainly and infallibly be converted.

The perseverance of the saints presented another important topic ; and it was disputed whether he who had once believed was in nowise able to fall from the faith. Arminius expressed himself as unwilling to oppose the common views on this point, although he confessed that some scruples occasionally disturbed him. Gomarus having replied to the observations made by Arminius, they were both asked, whether any other subjects of importance remained to be discussed ; on which the former answered, that they had still to be heard respecting their views of original sin, the providence of God, the authority of scripture, the certainty of salvation, and the present perfectibility of man.

But it was plainly seen that the strength of Arminius was already exhausted, and that it would be equally cruel and unjust to urge him to further exertion. The assembly, therefore, prepared to dissolve, but first requested both the professors to draw up a written statement of the arguments advanced in the discussion. It was also desired that the distinguished men, whom each had chosen to attend him in the conference, would render their advice as to the best means of quieting the present disputes. The friends of Gomarus, when they appeared before the assembly, in obedience to this request, openly declared that they believed no other remedy existed to the present evils but the speedy meeting of a provincial or national synod. When the supporters of Arminius were called on for their opinion, they expressed their belief, that there was nothing of sufficient importance in the controversy to require any thing further than the exercise of a little mutual forbearance, and that if envy and acrimony were laid aside, peace might be restored and established on a permanent basis.

Witenbogart took the lead on this occasion. He did not, he said, dispute the usefulness of synods. They were generally regarded as the sheet-anchor of a church in danger; but it had been remarked that the devil sometimes sat at their head as president; and to avoid the danger implied in this saying, no better expedient could be proposed than that of convoking a synod which should be decidedly fair and open, and in which not only Gomarus and Arminius, but all who had any animadversions to offer, should be allowed to express their opinions. Unhappily, he added, the greater number of those of whom a synod was ordinarily composed were excited solely by passion and prejudice, and had but the one aim of compelling the smaller party to submit to the greater. This abuse, he trusted, would be avoided in the proposed synod; but if the calling of such an assembly was hardly to be expected till after a considerable lapse of time, he prayed that, by the introduction of some formulary on points of no real practical

importance, an end might be put to the present disorders of the Church.*

Gomarus carefully prepared a summary of the statements and arguments which had been employed in the late conference. Arminius attempted to fulfil the task imposed upon him ; but, stretched on a bed of sickness, and almost daily looking for his end, he found it impossible to complete his work. " I have committed," he said, " to writing all that is absolutely necessary. God has willed that I should not do more ; but so far am I from wishing to alter any thing that I have declared, that I am ready, with this same confession, to appear at once before the tribunal of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the judge of the quick and the dead !"

The complication of disorders under which Arminius suffered defied the efforts of the eminent physicians who attended him. But amid all his bodily sufferings his mind retained its powers and serenity. When the agony of his frame was too great to allow of his joining his friends in their customary devotions, he entreated them to wait till he returned to himself, and could take part in the blessed work. His most frequent prayer was, " O Lord Jesus, thou faithful and merciful high priest, who wert willing to be like us in all things, sin only except, that, taught by experience itself how difficult it is to obey God in suffering, thou mightest be able to be touched with a feeling of our infirmities, have mercy on me ! Succour thy servant lying here bowed down with so many afflictions ! O God of my salvation, render my soul fit for thy heavenly kingdom, and my body for the resurrection ! O great Shepherd of the sheep, who by the blood of the everlasting covenant wert brought back from the dead, O Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, be present with me, thy poor and afflicted sheep !"†

It was his constant delight to repeat the passage from the thirteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, on which he founded this prayer. So fervently did he utter the divine words, that they never faded from the memory of those who watched at his bedside. Among

* Brantius. Vit. p. 421.

† Ib., p. 429.

the most anxious and affectionate of these was his scholar, the afterwards celebrated Simon Episcopus, who scarcely left him night or day, but, sitting by his bed, solicitously conversed with him on every subject which might sooth a dying man, or render his last hours as profitable to others, and to the world at large, as to his own soul.

The introduction to his last will, drawn up at this time,* strongly expresses the deep sense of piety which possessed his heart. "Before all things," he says, "I commend my soul, when it shall have left this body, into the hands of God as a faithful Creator and Saviour; before whom also I testify, that I have walked with a good conscience, with simplicity and sincerity in my vocation; carefully and circumspectly avoiding proposing or teaching any thing which I had not before learned by diligent study of the scriptures, and found to agree therewith; but inculcating whatsoever might serve to the propagation and defence of the truth; to the interests of Christianity; the worship of God; the diffusion of piety, and of a holy conversation among men; and, moreover, to the establishment of tranquillity and peace, agreeably to the Word of God, and to the exclusion only of the papacy, with which no unity of faith, no bond of Christian piety or peace, can ever be preserved." Surrounded by numerous friends, among the foremost of whom were Witenbogat and Borrius, he breathed his last sigh on the 19th of October 1609, the tranquillity of his departing spirit exciting those who were present to exclaim with devout emotion, "Let us also die the death of the righteous!"

Arminius was now gone; and it might have been supposed, that, when he no longer lived to provoke the hostility of rival professors, peace would speedily be restored. But a signal proof was given, that but a small share of the strife which existed could be fairly laid to his charge. Almost immediately after his decease the angry spirits of the age began to exert themselves in contests with the secular power; and it was generally

* He had been married many years, and left a widow and nine children. —Vit. p. 433.

affirmed by the ruling party in the Church, that their authority depended on no one but Jesus Christ, and that they had the right of framing ecclesiastical laws, and exacting penalties of the disobedient, as they might see fit. Consistories were accordingly established, and ministers and presbyters took their seats in them as solemnly-appointed judges in all matters of religion.* Suspension from the privileges of worship, excommunication, or delivering unto Satan, were the common results of any offence committed against this new authority; and the power of the keys, and other similar expressions, became as common in the mouths of Dutch presbyterians as in those of the most enthusiastic of transalpine priests.

A strong feeling of opposition existed on the part of the secular power against these proceedings of the clergy. "I see," said an eminent man, "that the censures of our churches are suspected by the magistrates, and that they are regarded as concealing some tyrannical power, which, gathering strength with the course of time, will at length subject to itself the power of the magistrate." It is well known how impatient the human mind is of illegitimate control; for it holds in detestation all who strive to arrogate to themselves any species of authority. The dispute became still more angry when the government proposed to find remedies for the evils which had arisen in the predestinarian controversy. It was argued by the chief men in the state, that the orders of which it consisted were properly the parents and guardians of the whole community, and the stewards, therefore, not merely of secular interests, but of religious rights and liberty of conscience. And if this statement ought to be acknowledged as correct, the immediate inference was, that the questions which had arisen respecting the confession and catechism should be referred, not to a synod, but to the magistrates.

It is easy to imagine with what indignation such remarks would be received by a clergy in the early stage of new and hot excitement. Everywhere the loud complaint was heard, that the magistrates were preparing

* Limborch. *Relatio Historica de Origine, &c.*, p. 11.

to violate the laws of the Church ; and that they denied to the clergy the right of exercising the power which they had received immediately from Christ. A counter charge was immediately put forth by the magistrates, and no one seemed prepared to take the part of a mediator, till Witenbogart ventured on the difficult office. In a speech addressed to the assembled orders, he observed, that the present evils had arisen from the conflict of two collateral powers ; and that the surest method of restoring concord would be to destroy the equality, or right of collateral domination, assumed by the Church in reference to the state.

Such an observation was well calculated to arouse the anger of a man like Gomarus, and he and his associates were loud in their reproaches of its author, whom they accused of seeking, by servility and adulation, to ingratiate himself with the government. A book was put forth on the subject, and the ambitious views ascribed to the Church were declaimed as only proper to Rome and antichrist. To this book Witenbogart speedily published an answer, and his observations are valuable and important, as showing what were the opinions of the early Arminians on the relations of church and state. He remarked, in the first place, that it was not a collateral rule which the papal government desired to exercise, but a supreme authority, a power which should subject the civil to the ecclesiastical orders. Gomarus, he continued, did not claim for the Church a superior, but an equal, or a collateral, authority, neither of the powers in question having any dependence upon the other. And this, he contended, could only be allowed at the expense of all good government, of all tranquillity and order. Even in ecclesiastical affairs, it was argued, the chief authority under Christ ought to reside in the Christian magistrate whose especial duty it is to establish the rites of a pure worship ; to build churches in which that worship may be carried on ; to constitute ministers to preside over that worship ; to make laws respecting the times, places, and several circumstances of worship ; to punish ministers guilty of grievous offences ; and, in short, to do

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all those things which pertain to the external government
of the Church.

The sentiments of Witenbogat were enthusiastically re-echoed by those who regarded every ecclesiastical consistory as a species of papacy in itself. They provoked several of the clergy to speak in exaggerated terms of the authority belonging to their body; and it soon became evident that most of them had mistaken the real intention of the writer upon whom they were heaping their calumnies and anathemas. The controversy, as Witenbogat himself earnestly observed, was not about the internal but the external government of the Church. Episcopius, some time after, undertook to explain more fully the difficulties of the subject by making a distinction between public and private exercises of religion. The former, he contended, ought to be under the control of the magistrate; while the latter, embracing a provision for all the rights of conscience, ought to be regarded as open to the choice of every one who might dissent from the established faith.

While this controversy was raging, the most active measures were being employed by Gomarus and his party to procure the expulsion of every minister suspected of Arminianism from his parish and pulpit. Means the most violent were resorted to for this purpose. In some provinces the clergy received orders to sign a declaration, that they acknowledged the confession and the Heidelberg catechism as agreeing in every particular with the Word of God and the foundation of salvation. Four ministers who declared their readiness to sign the confession, but not the catechism, were immediately punished by suspension.

Alarmed as well as disgusted at this tyrannous dictation, several of the clergy united in putting forth a pamphlet under the title of a Remonstrance, and whence the Arminians derived the trite appellation by which they were subsequently most commonly designated. In this publication, the opinions of the party were first exhibited, according to the celebrated quinquarticular division; and the five points formed, from this time, the circumference of a circle, within which the greatest

and most active minds, the most profoundly cultivated understandings, and almost every feeling and affection that religious interests can excite, were long content to display their strength.

The five articles were : 1. That God, before the foundation of the world, determined, by an eternal and immutable decree, in Jesus Christ his Son, to save in Christ, for Christ, and through Christ, such of the lapsed and sinful human race as, by the grace of the Holy Spirit, believe in his Son, and in that faith, and in the obedience of faith, by the same grace, persevere unto the end. 2. That, therefore, Jesus Christ died for all men and every man ; and so, indeed, that for all, by the death of the cross, he might obtain reconciliation and remission of sins ; but with this condition, that none but the faithful should enjoy that remission. 3. That a man has not saving faith from himself, nor by the free energy of his own will, since, in a state of defection and sin, he can of himself think nothing good, that is, truly good, and such is saving faith ; but he must be regenerated, renewed in mind, affections or will, and in all his faculties, that he may be able to understand, think, will, or perfect any thing that is good, according to the statement, " Without me ye can do nothing," John, xv., 5. 4. That the grace of God is the beginning, progress and perfection of every thing that is good ; and so, indeed, that a regenerate man himself, without this preceding or attending, exciting, consequent and co-operating grace, can neither think, will, nor do any thing good, nor resist any temptation to evil ; so that every good work which it is possible for us to conceive is to be attributed to the grace of God in Christ. But with respect to the mode of the operation of that grace, it is not irresistible, for it is said of many that they resisted the Holy Spirit. Acts, vii., and many other places. And 5. That they who are ingrafted into Christ by true faith, and are thereby made partakers of his quickening Spirit, abound in gifts whereby they may fight against the flesh, and conquer ; but this only through the grace of the Holy Ghost. Jesus Christ is present with them, by his Spirit, in all their temptations ; he stretches forth

his hand; and if they be but ready for the contest, and seek his assistance, nor be wanting in their duty, he confirms them; and so, indeed, that by no fraud of Satan, or power of seduction, they can be plucked from the hands of Christ, according to John, x.; but that they are not able, by their own negligence, to desert the principle through which they are upheld in Christ, and again to embrace the world; to forsake the holy doctrine once delivered to them; to make shipwreck of their conscience, and to fall from grace; must be proved from holy scripture before we can say it with entire tranquillity and satisfaction of mind.*

A fair examination of these articles was demanded on the side of the remonstrants. To a certain degree their request was granted, and both parties were desired to refrain from any mention of the disputed doctrines till means could be adopted for finally settling the controversy.† Another conference was soon after proposed,

* Limborch. *Relatio Historica de Origine*, &c., p. 15.

† I. De Electione ex Fide Prævisa. Deus æterno & immutabili decreto, in Jesu Christo filio suo, ante jactum mundum fundamentum statuit, ex lapso & peccatis obnoxio humano genere, illos in Christo, propter Christum, & per Christum servare, qui Spiritum Sancti gratia in eundem filium ejus credunt, & in ea fide, fideique obedientia, per eundem gratiam, usque ad finem perseverant.

II. De Redemptione Universali. Proinde Deus Christus pro omnibus ac singulis mortuus est: atque id ita quidem ut omnibus per mortem crucis reconciliationem et peccatorum remissionem impetraret: ea tamen conditione, ut nemo illa peccatorum remissione fruatur, præter hominem fidelem. John, ii, 16; 1. John, ii., 2.

III. De Causa Fidei. Homo fidem salutarem à seipso non habet, vi liberi sui arbitrii, quandoquidem in statu defectionis et peccati, nihil boni, quod quidem vere est bonum (quale est fides salutaris) ex se potest cogitare, velle, aut facere; sed necessarium est, ea à Deo, in Christo, per Spiritum ejus Sanctum regigni, renovari mente, affectibus, seu voluntate, et omnibus facultatibus, ut aliquid boni posset intelligere, cogitare, velle, et perficere, secundum illud, John, xv., 5. Sine me potestis nihil.

IV. De Conversione Modo. Dei gratia est initium, progressus et perfectio omnis boni, atque adeo quidem, ut ipse homo regenitus, absque hac præcedanea seu adventitia, excitante, consequente et co-operante gratia, neque boni quid cogitare, velle, aut facere potest, neque etiam ulli malæ tentationi resistere, adeo quidem ut omnia bona opera quæ excogitare possumus, Dei gratiæ in Christo tribuenda sunt. Quoad vero modum co-operationis illius gratiæ, illa non est irresistibilis: de multis enim dicitur, eos Spiritui Sancto resistisse. Actorum, vii., et alibi multis locis.

V. De Perseverantia Incerta. Qui Jesu Christo per veram fidem sunt inæti, ac proinde Spiritus ejus vivificantis participes, ii abunde habent facultatem, quibus contra Satanam, peccatum, mundum et propriam suam carnem pugnent et victoriam obtineant: veruntamen per gratiæ Spiritus Sancti sub-

but before it could commence its proceedings, the high predestinarian party drew up certain articles in the shape of a contra remonstrance, whence the name of Contra-remonstrants, so long after the designation of the Netherland Calvinists. The sum of these articles was : 1. That God, from the human race, corrupted in Adam, freed a certain number of men, whom in his eternal and immutable counsel, from mere mercy, according to the good pleasure of his will, he elected, in order that he might save them by Christ ; the rest, in his just counsel, being passed over, and left in their sins. 2. That the children of the covenant are to be considered as the elect, as long as they do not by the thing itself declare the contrary. 3. That God, in his election, had not respect to the faith or conversion of his elect, as the cause of election, but that he determined to bestow upon those, whom he elected from the good pleasure of his will, faith and perseverance in piety, and in this way to save them. 4. That God delivered his Son unto death to save his elect, so that although the death of Christ is sufficient to satisfy for the sins of all mankind it only actually reconciles in the case of the elect. 5. That God not only externally, by the preaching of the gospel, but also internally, so effectually operates in the hearts of his elect, that they are not only able to turn themselves and believe, but also in reality, and of their own will, are converted and do believe. 6. That the truly faithful and regenerate, although through imbecility of the flesh they fall into grievous sins, are, notwithstanding, so sustained and preserved by that same virtue of the Holy Spirit whereby they were regenerated, that they are not able totally or finally to fall from faith.

The conference, which was preceded by the publi-

sidium. Jesus Christus quidem illis Spiritu suo in omnibus tentationibus adest, manum porrigit, et modo sint ad certamen prompti, et ejus auxilium petant, neque officio suo desint, eos confirmat ; adeo quidem ut nulla Satanae fraude, aut vi seduci, vel è manibus Christi eripi, possint, secundum illud, Johannes x., Nemo illos è manu mea eripiet ; sed an illi ipsi negligentia sua, principium illud quo sustentantur in Christo, deserere non possint, et præsentem mundum iterum amplecti, à sancta doctrina ipsis semel tradita deficere, conscientia naufragium facere, à gratia exidere ; penitus ex Sacra Scriptura esset expendendum antequam illud cum plena animi tranquillitate et plerophoria dicere possumus.—Heylyn, *Historical Tracts*, *Quinquarticular History*, part 1., c. v., p. 527.

cation of these articles, took place at the Hague, and seems to have been characterized by all the heat and angry recriminations which had, of late, attended the meetings of ecclesiastics. Among the other causes of contention, which at present existed, was the election of a successor to Arminius in the university of Leyden. Vorstius had been nominated to the vacant chair. His attachment to the views of the late professor was well known. The whole of the Calvinistic party arose against his election. Even the king of England was engaged to exercise his influence to oppose it; and the result was, that though Vorstius showed himself ready to apologise for, or explain, what might seem doubtful in his views, he could never establish himself in the rightful possession of the professorship.* With the excited feelings to which this and other occurrences of a similar kind had given rise, the assembly was unable to contend, and it gladly sheltered its want of power under the oft-repeated attempt to exhibit a dignified love of moderation, by advising the warring parties to cease from their useless strife.

Political events have, in most great religious disputes, contributed to precipitate the issue. In such cases, thoughtful men will be doubtful whether they ought rather to lament the loss of that development of truth, or doctrine, which they had looked for from the controversy, or to rejoice in the speedy and happy, though constrained, restoration of tranquillity. The celebrated Van Olden Burnevelt had conceived an ardent hope, that it was possible for him to secure both the independence of his country, and the religious toleration of his party, by an immediate and bold stroke of policy. Grotius and other men of eminence were inspired with similar feelings; and the remonstrants were speedily converted into a party which seemed, for the moment, to be more anxious to find weapons against the Prince of Orange, than to invent arguments in support of Arminianism and the five points.

The issue of the political contest was as unfortunate as it could be for the low party. Grotius and Burnevelt

* Limborch. *Relatio Historica de Origine*, &c., p. 18.

were both thrown into prison; and the latter was eventually led from the dungeon to a scaffold. In the midst of the struggle which the Prince of Orange anxiously kept up with the view of establishing his power, the contra-remonstrants, having the whole weight of his influence for their support, determined upon calling a national synod. The season was in every way favourable for their purpose. Most men were terrified at the bare thought of incurring the suspicions which had proved so dangerous to the Arminians; and though there was amply enough talent in the leaders of the dominant party to exhibit their doctrines in the most favourable point of view, they felt that it was no slight circumstance in their favour, that the strongest political power in their own country, and the influence of foreign sovereigns, were ready to be exercised in their behalf.

It was impossible that a national synod should have been assembled with less appearance of moderation, or liberality, than that of Dort. Every method that policy could suggest, or influence enable a party to put in practice, was employed to prevent the Arminians from being fairly represented, or making themselves heard in the assembly.* Such proceedings were looked upon with disgust by numbers of men who were only kept silent by the dread of persecution. To those who believed the doctrines which this arbitrary course was intended to support, but who were not instigated by popular rage, the preparations for the synod presented cause for deep humiliation. They forced upon them the uneasy reflection, that in one of the foremost of the reformed churches, in a community which appeared to have a right to boast of its happy experience of Christian liberty, the example of Rome was being closely followed, and its spirit obeyed in all the practicable vices of ecclesiastical domination.

* *Acta Synodi, Session. v., p. 19.* Quapropter dicta synodus, accedente generosorum ac nobiliss. D. D., delegatorum autoritate et consensu te per præsentem vocat ac citat, ut ad finem prædictum, in synodo te præsentem sistas, una cum reliquis ad eundem finem citatis et vocatis, intra quatuordecim dies post acceptionem harum præsentium literarum, sine ulla tergiversatione aut exceptione: ne negligentie aut contumacie culpa in te inveniat, aut causæ vestræ defuisse vidcaris.

The Synod of Dort held its first sitting on the 13th of November 1618. There were present in the assembly twenty-eight foreign divines; among which were bishop Hall, then dean of Worcester; Dr. Davenant, divinity professor at Cambridge; Carleton, bishop of Llandaff; and Dr. Samuel Ward. It is one of the most remarkable circumstances of James's reign, that dignitaries of the English Church were formally and officially deputed by the sovereign to be present at such an assembly. But political considerations never wanted weight with James; and both his own views, and those of many of the clergy, were at this time so unsettled in respect to the Calvinistic doctrines, that the proceedings of the synod had great importance in his sight.

It was an unhappy controversy that had occasioned the calling of the synod; and to the utter overthrow of the party in which that controversy had arisen were the views of the assembly more immediately directed. But it had other objects. The common evils arising from a long season of repose were as visible in the Netherland as in other churches. Influence had placed unworthy men in high stations. The same enemy of health and purity in ecclesiastical constitutions had favoured pluralism; had blinded the ruling men in synods, orders or classes, to the vices and negligence of their favoured brethren, and persuaded them to allow the Church itself to remain in constant peril of destruction rather than expose a churchman to the annoyance of doing more than he found it easy to perform. By the rough treatment to which controversy subjects men of all classes, numberless dormant energies were awakened; and it soon began to be acknowledged, that hosts of parishes stood in need of ministrations which it had hitherto been supposed enough if they received nominally, but of which it was now confessed, they ought to be real and constant partakers.

The early sessions of the synod, therefore, were employed in ordering a new translation of the scriptures, in debating the several methods of catechising, and proposing new rules for the better preparation and governing of the Church's ministers. At length an answer

was received from Episcopius and the other remonstrant ministers, to the summons issued by the synod. It was couched in terms equally cautious and respectful, but plainly declarative of the sense which was entertained of the injustice with which the party was treated. Having expressed a hearty desire for the speedy return of peace, the remonstrants proceeded to state the conditions on which they should be ready to appear in the synod; and the first and principal of these was, that the matters to be discussed in the synod should be debated before it, not as if it had been constituted a legitimate judge of the Arminian doctrines, but as simply an adverse party; for that it was impossible for them, either in mind or conscience, to regard those as just and proper judges who openly declared themselves their enemies, and proclaimed them schismatics.*

Following this statement are the conditions insisted on by the remonstrants for the instituting of a synod that might fairly claim the obedience of all parties. The substance of these was, that the remonstrants as well as the contra-remonstrants should have the right of delegating a certain number of representatives to the assembly, and that with equal rights, powers and privileges; that a safe conduct should be given them; that past offences and recriminations should be forgotten; that a solemn and plenary renunciation should be made of all contracts, covenants, decisions and sentences determined on before the meeting, and that ministers who had been pronounced schismatics should, notwithstanding, be now recognised as brothers in Christ, and true members of the reformed Church; that no molestation should be offered them on account of any thing which had passed in the controversy; that in the discussion before the synod the inquiry should not be confined to the question, whether the doctrines spoken of agreed or not with the confession and catechism, but whether they were founded on the Word of God; that no less attention should be given to the necessity than to the truth of each article; and that every member of the synod should be bound by oath to declare, that he would not pay regard

* Acta Synodi, Scs. xxv.

to the confession, catechism, or any human writing or writer, but only to the Holy Scriptures, which should be acknowledged as the sole rule of faith; and that he would not propose any thing which he did not believe in his conscience to agree with that rule. It was further required that the argument should be carried on in writing, except when a contrary method was agreed to; that the catechism should be submitted to examination, and that no threats should be uttered to prevent the free expression of opinion on its contents; that in the controversy concerning the articles, no decision should be pronounced, but rather an accommodation sought, and that, if agreement should be found impossible, a reference should then be made to the chief magistrate, who should determine both the order and method to be observed in the public teaching of the people. Moreover, that time for fair deliberation should be conceded to those whose consciences taught them to object to the decision arrived at; that, if possible, they should be admitted into the communion and unity of the Church, as if no controversy had ever taken place; but that, if they found themselves obliged to retire from the ministry, they should not be exposed to any persecution on the part of either Church or State, but should be allowed to enjoy the same liberty of conscience conceded generally to others.*

A vast number of particular statements and reasons follow this appeal, and it is shown, that, unless the synod intended to follow the example of the Council of Trent, the claims of the remonstrants must be readily and fully granted. In conclusion, they declared, that if their wishes were fulfilled, they would prepare themselves for the debate with cheerful and thankful minds, yielding to none in earnest desire for the peace of the Church, and the prosperity of their country, and ready to exhibit every proof of charity, humility and gentleness; but that, if not allowed to enter the synod according to these just demands, they would remain content with the consolatory reflection that they had themselves acted religiously

* Acta Synodi, Secs. xxv., p. 70.

and equitably, and that future ages would bear testimony to the rectitude of their conduct.

To the address thus drawn up, and signed by Episcopius and other eminent Arminians, the synod returned for answer, that it was utterly unbecoming in those who had been cited to appear before it to pretend to lay down laws for their judges, and that the objections urged to its mode of proceeding ought rather to have been addressed to the heads of the government, who were, in reality, the authors of the rules spoken of with so little deference and respect. After a brief discussion, it was declared to be the judgment of the whole synod, that the demands of the remonstrants were insolent, iniquitous and untimely, and in open hostility to the laws and wishes of their rulers. Episcopius contended, with force and ingenuity, against this conclusion. He was followed by another of the party; and many arguments were advanced to prove the injustice to which the synod was about to subject them.*

* The following is Hales' abstract of the address delivered by Episcopius when first called before the synod:—"That religion was the chiefest note of a man, and we were more distinguished by it from other creatures, than by our reason. That their appearance before the synod, ut illam etiam Spartam ornarent, that they might endeavour something for the preservation of the purity of religion: that religion was nothing else but a right conceit and worship of God: that the conceits concerning God are of two sorts; some absolutely necessary, which were the grounds of all true worship; in these to err might finally endanger a man; some not absolutely necessary, and in these sometimes without great danger men might mistake: that they desecrated many conceits passing in our churches which could not stand with the goodness and justice of God, with the use of the sacraments, with the duties of Christian men; these had given occasion to the adversaries abroad to accuse our churches, and lay upon them many strange imputations; that therefore their endeavour had been none other but to remove these imputations, and to provide as much as in them lay that the conceits of some few might not pass for the general doctrine of our churches; but this their endeavour had hitherto had but ill success; and as in a diseased body, many times, when physick is administered, the humours which were quiet are stirred, and hence the body proves more distempered; so their endeavours to cure the Church had caused greater disorder; yet in this had they not offended; for they laboured to none other end, but that the Church might not be traduced by reason of the private conceits of some of her ministers. That in this behalf the world had been exceedingly incensed against them; but this envy they esteemed their gloriam et palmarium: that for this they did not mean to forsake their cause; and were it so that they should lose the day, yet would they joy in it, and think it glory enough, magnis ausis excidisse. That this their stirring was not de lana caprina, of small, frivolous and worthless matters, of mere quirks of wit, as many of the common sort were persuaded; that out of this conceit it was that they had been so exceedingly

But neither their eloquence nor their plain appeals to fact moved the assembly. It had for its president John Bogermann, one of the most violent of the Gomarists; and it was his well-known opinion, that heretics and

roughly dealt withall, yea, they might say *sævitus fuisse* against them as against unnecessary innovators in the Church: first, matters were handled against them clancularly, and by stealth; after this, they broke out into open but false accusations, and after this into wrath, into scoffing and bitterness, till at length, *effractis moderationis repagulis*, every one came with open mouth against them, *tanquam in publici odii victimas* [here followed a grave and serious invocation of Christ as a witness to the truth of what they said]. True, indeed, it was, that in their books many things were to be found amiss, for a very hard matter they thought it for minds exasperated *semper rectum clavem tenere*. That for the settling of these things there could but three courses be thought of; either a national synod, or a mutual toleration of each other's opinions, or the cession or resignation of their calling and place in the Church. To quit them of their calling and to fly, this were a note of the hireling: as for a synod, which they much desired, *remorabantur qui minime debebant*, and it was pretended that the condition of the times would not suffer it. There remains only a mutual toleration, of the possibility of which alone they had hope; and for this end, they did exceedingly approve of the decree of the States of Holland and West Fryzeland, which they thought confirmed by the examples of Beza's dealing, with some of their own dealing with the Lutherans, of the advice of the king of Great Britain; but all this was labour lost; for there was a buzze and jealousy spread in the heads of men, that under this larve, this whiffing suit of toleration, there lay personated more dangerous designs: that behind this, *tanquam post siparium*, there lay intents of opening a way to the profession of all the antient heresies; and that the remonstrants could, *pro tempore conscientie sue imperare quod volunt*. Upon this began men's minds to be alienated from them, which things at length brake forth into schism and open separation. Now began their books to be more narrowly inquired into, every line, every phrase, every word and tittle to be stretcht to the uttermost to prove them hereticks. Witness that late work, intituled, '*Specimen Controversarium Belgicarum*,' whose author's credit and good dealing had already in part appeared, and hereafter farther would appear. That all fundamental points of divinity they had preserved untouched; for they knew that there were many things of which it is not lawful to dispute; and they abhorr'd, from that conceit of many men, who would believe nothing but what they were able to give a reason of. That what they questioned was only such a matter, which for a long time had been, without danger, both pro and contra, disputed of. They thought it sufficient if the chief points of religion remain unshaken. That there had been alwayes sundry opinions, even amongst the fathers themselves, which yet had not broken out into separation of minds and breach of charity. That it was impossible for all wits to jump in one point. It was the judgment of *Paræus*, a great divine, that the greatest cause of contentions in the Church was this, that the schoolmen's conclusions and cathedral decisions had been received as oracles and articles of faith. That they were, therefore, unjustly charged with the bringing in of a scepttike theologie: they sought for nothing else but for the liberty which is the mean betwixt servitude and license. That now they appeared before the synod, whether as cited, or otherwise, they were not careful. They had been present, howsoever, had it been lawful. They required the foreigners not to judge of them as they had heard abroad, but as they now should find them. That they profess they oppose themselves, first, against those conclusions concerning predestination, which the authors themselves have called *horrida de-*

schismatics ought to be treated with no forbearance, but should be punished as men guilty of the highest crimes. Each successive session afforded fresh proof that the synod had been called, not to examine the truth or falsehood of particular opinions, but to pronounce a definitive and predetermined sentence. In the twenty-seventh session, which took place on the 11th of December, the remonstrants appeared, in obedience to the citation sent them, and were asked, whether they were prepared to exhibit their opinions on the five articles, and on the confession and catechism, according to the terms of the citation? They replied, that they had drawn up a written statement on the subject, and desired permission to read it. After some delay, the required permission was granted, and, from a paper of considerable length, the representatives of the Arminians renewed their complaints of the injustice of the synod, and of its want of authority to pronounce sentence on the truth or falsehood of their doctrines. This renewed protestation met with the same fate as those before made. It also aroused against the remonstrants the combined forces of the foreign divines, who were loud in their support of

creta. Secondly, against those who for the five articles, so called, have made a separation, never expecting any synodical sentence. Thirdly, against those who cast from them all those who in some things dissent from them. And yet, to raise the controversy greater, is the question of the right of magistrates added above all the rest, which they maintained against those who taught the magistrates should, with a hoodwinked obedience, accept of what the divines taught, without farther inquiry. These are the points for which we have contended. Give unto us that respect which yourselves would look for at our hands if you were in our case; we have not ambitiously sued to any; the favour of God alone it is which we have sought; look not upon this small number which you see, 'Unus patronus bonæ causæ satis est.' 'Tis not the smaller which makes schism. If a major part carry the right, what think you then of the province of Utrecht, where the greater part are remonstrants? From you doth the schism proceed; first, here in this synod, by making so unequal a choice of deputies with so small a number of remonstrants; secondly, by proceeding against us abroad, not expecting a synodical decree, by cashiering and subjecting unto censures the chief patrons of our cause, eos apud quos sunt aquilæ nostræ: and, peradventure, even at this very hour you proceed against some of ours, by suspending, discommuning, by expelling them from their churches, &c. But yet we cast not away our swords: the scriptures and solid reason shall be to us instead of multitudes. The conscience rests not itself upon the number of suffrages, but upon the strength of reason. *Tam parati sumus vinci, quam vincere*; he gets a great victory, that being conquered gains the truth. *Amicus Socrates, amicus Plato, amica Synodus, sed magis amica veritas.*"—Hale's Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 48.

Bogermann and his judicial wisdom. The charge of schism, with which the Arminians had rashly and unjustifiably assailed the synod, formed the chief provocative to whatever was said by these learned strangers. English, Genevan and German theologians were equally ready to prove that an assembly composed of the representatives of a national Church, and whose object it was to defend a creed long and generally received, could never, without gross absurdity, be denominated schismatical. It was, moreover, forcibly argued by the English divines, that the objections of the Arminians to the authority of the synod, because they themselves were not admitted into its ranks, were refuted by the history of all the antient councils. In those assemblies, it was said, the opponents of old and established doctrines were judged and condemned by the orthodox; and the very necessity of the case compelled this method of proceeding, for the supreme power of determining controversies must, in every church, be referred to a national synod, legitimately convoked and assembled, since it is impossible that new dogmas should be called in question and sifted unless by those who faithfully adhere to the antient creed. If neutrals only, therefore, can be judges, such as are strangers to the church in which the dispute has arisen would always have to be sought, and no church would ever be sufficient of itself to determine its own controversies. Even common equity, it was added, would oppose a position of this kind; for how could the pastors of the Church be justly deprived of their right of judging and condemning heresies? If such a course were adopted, when heresies arose there would be no one found to oppose them, lest by the very attempt to condemn them the right of judgment might be lost.*

According to the opinion of the Genevan divines, the government of the Church being aristocratical in its form, its supreme judicial power resides in a synod legitimately convoked, so at least as to constitute an organic and representative body. To a synod thus con-

* Acta Synodi, Sess. xxix., p. 107.

stituted no member of the churches which it represents can legitimately prefer an objection, since no exception can be taken to a supreme judge, to public and received order and the laws. Other considerations were added which went far to prove, that the course pursued by the remonstrants was inconsistent with the exercise of Christian charity and humility, and that the synod had taken no other way to subdue the present disorders than that which it was authorized to adopt by the very nature of its constitution. It is evident, however, that the arguments of these foreign divines were, one and all, founded on the supposition, that the synod was composed of men that might fairly be regarded as representatives of the Church; that no overwhelming political influence had been employed in determining the choice of its members; that it was really fitted to perform the duty of a deliberative assembly; and that, notwithstanding the known and well-settled principles of those who were to take the lead in its debates, much that had an important bearing on the present state of affairs remained to be determined by the light of charity, and of the peaceable and gentle wisdom which is from above.

There is one grave consideration in respect to the complaints of the Arminians, and which there is little doubt affected the minds of many of their cotemporaries against them. They were themselves the authors of the present disturbance. The Church had enjoyed the blessings of tranquillity and order till Arminius and his disciples began to publish their doubts respecting the scriptural character of the confession and catechism. It was soon discovered that the views thus promulgated were acceptable to a large class of men, of the soundness of whose opinions on the general plan of the gospel suspicions were very commonly entertained. That every effort, therefore, was made to repress the novelties, as they were considered, of Arminianism; that the whole force of the Church was anxiously employed to prevent their rapidly increasing into so many gigantic heresies, can create little surprise; nor would the guardians of the churches amid which these occurrences were

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taking place have deserved aught but praise, had they exercised more consideration and brotherly charity in their ulterior proceedings.

At the close of the thirtieth session, the remonstrants were asked, whether they had prepared for the synod a statement of their views on the first article in their summary, that, namely, which referred to divine predestination? They replied, that they had no written statement, but that they were ready to give at once a *viva voce* explanation of their doctrines. This offer was angrily rejected. They were peremptorily ordered to produce the required document at the first session the following day. The command was obeyed, and on the forenoon of the 13th of December the remonstrants presented their first formal statement of their belief on the great doctrine of predestination. Episcopus, as the now declared head of the party, was charged with the duty of reading the important document to the synod. It was signed by each of his companions, and the most explicit statements were given that it expressed the common sentiments of each and all.

The paper consisted of ten articles: 1. God did not decree the election of any one to eternal life, or his reprobation from the same, before he decreed to create him, or without respect to any antecedent obedience, or disobedience, according to his mere pleasure, to demonstrate the glory of his mercy and justice, or of his absolute power and dominion. 2. Since the decree of God concerning the salvation or destruction of every man is not the decree of an end absolutely determined, it follows, that neither are there subordinated to that decree such means that thereby the elect and the reprobated may be efficaciously and inevitably led to their destined end. 3. Wherefore, neither did God with this counsel create in one Adam all men in a state of rectitude; he did not ordain his fall and loss; he did not deprive him of necessary and sufficient grace; nor does he order the gospel to be preached; men externally to be called; the gifts of the Holy Spirit to be conferred,—that these may be the means of leading some to life, while to others the blessing of life is denied. Christ

as mediator is not only the executor of election, but the foundation of the decree of election itself. That some are efficaciously called, justified, persevere in faith, and are glorified, is not because they are absolutely elected to eternal life : again ; that some are left in their lapsed state, that Christ is not given to them, or that they are altogether not, or not efficaciously, called ; that they are hardened, condemned, is not because they have been absolutely reprobated from eternal salvation. 4. God did not determine, without the intervention of actual sins, to leave by far the greater portion of mankind in their fallen state, and cut off from all hope of salvation. 5. God ordained that Christ should be a propitiation for the sins of the whole world ; and in virtue of that decree he determined to justify and save those believing in him ; and to bestow upon men the means necessary and sufficient for that end, according to that rule which seems good to his wisdom and justice. But in nowise did he determine, in virtue of an absolute decree, to give Christ as a mediator to the elect alone ; to endow them only with faith by effectual calling, to justify them, to preserve them in the faith, and to glorify them. 6. Nor is any one rejected from eternal life, or from the means sufficient for its attainment, by an absolute, antecedent decree, so that the merit of Christ, vocation, and the gifts of the Spirit, may be profitable to the salvation of all ; and are actually so except when men abuse them to their own destruction ; whereas no one is destined to unbelief, impiety, sin, as the medium and cause of damnation. 7. The election of individuals is peremptory, from the consideration of their faith in Jesus Christ, and of their perseverance ; but not without this consideration of their faith, and perseverance in the true faith, as a pre-required condition of their election. 8. Reprobation from eternal life is made according to the consideration of an antecedent infidelity, and of perseverance in infidelity ; but not without the consideration of an antecedent infidelity, and of perseverance in infidelity. 9. All the children of believers are sanctified in Christ, so that none of them dying before the age of reason perish. On no account are children of

believers numbered among the reprobate departing this life before the actual commission of sin in their own person, so that neither the sacred laver of baptism, nor the prayers of the Church, might profit them. · 10. Children of believers, baptized in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, being still in the state of infancy, are not reckoned among the reprobate by an absolute decree. *

* I. Deus non decrevit quenquam ad vitam æternam eligere, aut ab eadem reprobare ordine priusquam eundem creare decreverit, citra ullius obedientiæ vel inobedientiæ antecedentis intuitum pro beneplacito suo, ad demonstrandam gloriam misericordiæ et iustitiæ suæ, vel potestatis et dominii absoluti.

II. Cum decretum Dei, de cuiusque hominis tum salute tum exitio, non sit decretum finis absolute intenti, sequitur neque eidem decreto subordinata esse media talia, per quæ finem destinatum tum electi tum reprobi efficaciter atque inevitabiliter perducantur.

III. Quare nec Deus hoc consilio creavit in uno Adamo omnes homines in recto statu, non ordinavit lapsum ejusque perditionem, non subtraxit Adamo gratiam necessariam et sufficientem, non procurat Evangelium prædicari, homines externe vocari, non confert illis ulla dona Spiritus S. ut ista media essent per quæ eorum aliquos ad vitam perduceret, alios vitæ beneficio destitueret. Christus mediator non est solum executor electionis, sed ipsius decreti electionis fundamentum: quod alii efficaciter vocantur, justificantur, in fide perseverant, glorificantur, causa non est quod absolute ad vitam æternam sint electi, neque quod alii in lapsu deserantur Christus iis non detur, prorsus non, aut ineffaciter vocentur, indurentur, damnentur, causa non est quod à salute æterna absolute sint reprobati.

IV. Deus non decrevit sine intervenientibus peccatis actualibus multo maximam partem hominum ab omni spe salutis seclusam in lapsu relinquare.

V. Deus ordinavit, ut Christus sit propitiatio pro totius mundi peccatis, et vi istius decreti, statuit credentes in ipsum justificare et salvare, hominibusque media ad finem necessaria et sufficientia administrare, ea ratione quam novit suam sapientiam et justitiam decere. Nequaquam autem destinavit ex vi decreti absoluti solis electis Christum mediatorem dare, eodemque solos per vocationem efficacem fide donare, justificare, in fide conservare ac glorificare.

VI. Nec a vita æterna nec a mediis ad eam sufficientibus ullus rejectus est absoluto aliquo antecedente decreto, sic ut meritum Christi, vocatio, omniaque dona Spiritus prodesse ad salutem omnibus possint, et revera prosint nisi ea ipsi exitium sibi corundem abusu vertant; ad incredulitatem autem, impietatem et peccata, tanquam media et causas damnationis, nemo destinatus est.

VII. Electio singularium personarum peremptoria est, ex consideratione fidei in Jesum Christum et perseverantiæ, non autem citra considerationem fidei et perseverantiæ in vera fide, tanquam conditionis in eligendo prærequisitæ.

VIII. Reprobatio à vita æterna facta est secundum considerationem antecedentem infidelitatis, et perseverantiæ in infidelitate; non autem citra considerationem antecedentem infidelitatis, et perseverantiæ in infidelitate.

IX. Omnes fidelium liberi sunt in Christo sanctificati; ita ut nullus eorum ante usum rationis ex hac vita decedens pereat. Nequaquam autem in reprobatorum numero censentur et jam nonnulli fidelium liberi, in infantia

At the end of this exposition of the first of the five articles, was added the declaration, that this doctrine concerning election and reprobation the remonstrants were prepared to defend against the contrary system, and to explain and unfold as they best might to the glory of God, the satisfying of their own conscience, and the edification of the Church. On its being asked by the synod, whether the opinions stated were those which the Arminians held in common, and whether nothing further was required to complete the statement, an answer was given in the affirmative. The synod then proceeded to observe, that it had been greatly displeased at the conduct of the persons cited, who, in the theses just presented, had rather shown what doctrines they rejected than what they themselves believed, or what they did not think rather than what they accepted as true; many things, moreover, were mixed up with the first article which properly belonged to others; and, on the whole, the remonstrants were to be admonished to take better heed for the future, and give more attention to the commands of the synod. When the assembly resumed its labours next day, the remonstrants were again reminded that their theses should consist of affirmative, not of negative, propositions; and the president especially directed them rather to treat of those questions which concerned "the sweet doctrine of election, than obviously to employ themselves on that of reprobation." *

In the thirty-fourth session the remonstrants appeared before the synod with theses on the rest of their articles. That on the Universality of Redemption was divided into four heads; under the first of which it was argued, that, as the price of redemption which Christ bore to his Father was not only sufficient in itself, and

sua ante ullum actuale peccatum in propria persona commissum ex hac vita discedentes; adeo ut nec baptismi lavacrum sacrum, nec preces Ecclesiæ ipsis ullo modo ad salutem prodesse possint.

X. Nulli fidelium liberi baptizati in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, in infantiæ suæ statu viventes, absoluto decreto reprobatis adscribuntur.—Acta Synodi, Ses. xxxi., p. 126.

* Submonuit et præses, ut potius questionibus illis inhærerent, quæ circa suavem de electione doctrinam versarentur, quam ut odiose doctrinam de reprobatione exagitarent.—Ib., Ses. xxxii., p. 128.

by itself, for the redemption of the whole human race, but was paid for all and every man, by the decree, the will and the grace of God the Father, no one is cut off from participating in the fruits of Christ's death by any absolute and antecedent decree of God. 2. Christ by the merit of his death reconciled God the Father to the whole human race, so that he might, in a manner consistent with justice and truth, be willing and able to establish with sinners a new covenant of grace. 3. Although Christ has merited for all and every man reconciliation with God, and remission of sins, nevertheless, no one according to the condition of this new and gracious covenant actually becomes a partaker of the benefits procured by the death of Christ, otherwise than through faith. Nor are the sins of sinful men pardoned before they verily and indeed believe in Christ. 4. They alone for whom Christ died are bound to believe that Christ died for them; but the reprobate, as they are called, for whom Christ did not die, can neither be compelled so to believe, nor be justly condemned for their disbelief; but if such reprobate there were, they would be bound to believe that Christ did not die for them.

The third and fourth articles were treated of in twelve propositions, in which the remonstrants fully set forth their views concerning the grace of God, and man's conversion. In the first it is stated: man has not saving faith from himself, nor from the force of his own free-will, since in a state of sin there can be no good thing, which saving faith especially is; but it is necessary that he be regenerated in Christ, by the Holy Spirit, and that in thought, affections, will, and all his faculties, that he may be able to understand what things are good and salutary, to meditate thereon, to desire and to accomplish them. This and the following proposition are the same as in the original statement of the five articles. Under the third head, it is said, that notwithstanding the sole dependence placed on the grace of God, it ought not to be considered that all zeal, care and diligence employed, before faith and the renovation of the spirit, in the desire of obtaining salvation, are

vain and useless, yea, more hurtful to man, than beneficial and fruitful; but, on the contrary, that to hear the Word of God, to grieve at the remembrance of sin, to seek salutary grace, and the renewing spirit, all which actually depends upon divine favour, is not only not hurtful and useless, but most profitable and necessary in order to the obtaining of faith and the spirit of renovation.

In the fourth section we read, that the will, in man's fallen state, has no power or liberty to adopt any thing that is salutary; and, hence, that the liberty of choosing both good and evil, in every state, cannot be present to the will. The next proposition sets forth, that the efficacious grace whereby any one is converted is not irresistible; and that, although God may so affect the will by his word, and by the internal operation of his Spirit, as to confer the power of believing, or supernatural ability, and so, in fact, may make a man believe; yet a man of himself has the power to despise this grace, and not to believe, and so to perish by his own fault.

It is stated in the following propositions: 1. Although, according to the will of God, most perfectly free, the largest measure of grace pertains to all and each of those to whom the Word of God is preached, he confers, or is ready to confer, as much as suffices to promote the conversion of all men in their several degrees; therefore, grace sufficient for faith and conversion pertains not only to those whom God is said to have willed to save by a decree of absolute election, but also to those who are not really and actually converted. 2. Man, by the grace of the Holy Spirit, is able to do more good than he really does, and to leave undone more evil than he really leaves undone. Neither do we believe that God is simply unwilling that man should do more good than he does, and omit more evil than he does omit, and that he has decreed from eternity that each should so be done or not done. 3. Whomsoever God calls to salvation he seriously calls, that is, with a sincere and by no means simulated intention and will; neither should assent be given to the opinion of those who pretend that God calls

some externally, and some internally, or that there are those whom he does not will to be truly converted, and that even prior to their rejection of the grace of vocation. 4. There is not in God a secret will which so contravenes his will, as revealed in scripture, that, according to that secret will, he desires not the conversion and salvation of the greater part of those whom, by the word of the gospel, and his revealed will, he seriously calls and invites to faith and salvation; neither is that holy simulation, as some speak, or double character, in God, to be acknowledged. 5. Neither should it be believed that God invites the reprobate, as they are called, for the purpose of hardening them more and more, and depriving them of all excuse, so that he may affect them with a heavier punishment, and prove their helplessness; but not that they may be converted, or that they may believe and be saved. 6. It is not true, that all things, as well evil as good, are done by the force and efficacy of a secret will, or divine decree, in such a manner that whosoever sins is not able, in consequence of the divine decree, not to sin: that God wishes to distinguish, to procure the sins of men, and their mad, foolish, cruel works, and sacrilegious blasphemy of his name; that he moves their tongues to this blasphemy, is not true. 12. It is also false, and horrible to say, that God, by a hidden reason, impels men to the sins which openly he prohibits; that those who sin do not act contrary to the will of God, properly so called; that what is unjust, that is, what is contrary to his command, is agreeable to his will; nay more, that it is a true and capital fault to do the will of God.

It is easy to perceive, from these latter propositions, that the remonstrants had seized upon every inference that could be so drawn from the doctrines of Calvin, as to exhibit them in the most odious light. Whether this was done with the simple conviction that such were the proper consequences of the opinions in question, or from a determination to take every advantage which the extreme view of the subject gave, without regard to the actual sentiments of their opponents, is hardly to be determined. There were, indeed, some among the cou-

tra-remonstrants who evinced so daring a spirit in the treatment of themes the most difficult and awful, that, startling as are the representations of the Arminians, they perhaps needed but the veil of milder expressions to make them at once acknowledged by the Calvinists as a faithful transcript of their views.

The subject of Perseverance, forming the last of the five articles, was treated of in eight propositions. In these it is stated, 1. The perseverance of the faithful in faith is not the effect of that absolute decree whereby God is said to have elected particular persons without any condition of obedience. 2. God instructs the truly faithful by grace and supernatural gifts, as far as in his infinite wisdom he judges sufficient to their perseverance, and to their overcoming the temptations of the devil, the flesh and the world ; nor is it ever through God that men cease to persevere. 3. The truly faithful are able to fall from true faith, and to commit sin, which cannot consist with a true and justifying faith ; nor is this merely possible, but is even of frequent occurrence. 4. The truly faithful are able, by their own fault, to fall into flagitious and atrocious wickednesses, to persevere and to die in them, and thence finally to sink and perish. 5. Yet it is not believed, that the truly faithful, although they sometimes fall into grievous sins, and such as injure the conscience, lose all hope of recovery ; but that God, according to the multitude of his mercies, may recall them by his grace to repentance ; and that this does often happen, even when it is impossible to decide, for certainty, whether it be so or not. 6. Therefore, these following dogmas, daily circulated in various writings, are utterly rejected as destructive of piety and good manners ; namely, that the truly faithful are not able deliberately to sin, but only from ignorance and infirmity : that the truly faithful can by no sin whatsoever fall from the grace of God : that a thousand sins, nay, all the sins of all the world, cannot render election void ; to which if it be added, that all men are bound to believe themselves elected to salvation, and that they are not able to fall from that election, it is easy to perceive how much these notions must tend to beget a

carnal security: it is also denied that no sins, however great and fearful, can be imputed to the elect, but must all, both present and future, be remitted: and that the truly faithful, falling into deadly heresies, and most atrocious crimes, such as oblige the Church to refuse to tolerate them in outward communion, and to declare that they have no part in the kingdom of Christ, unless they be converted, are, nevertheless, not able to fall totally and finally from the faith.

Such were the opinions which, if the Arminian report be true, were currently taught in the pulpits, writings or conversation of the contra-remonstrants. Nothing can be more evident than that the mere uttering of notions so opposed to what not human wisdom but scripture teaches of the truth and holiness of God, betokens a dark and unhealthy state of mind. Let it even be allowed that the primary dogmas of what is commonly called Calvinism are true, such is the nature of the mystery, that a finite and sin-beclouded understanding can speculate with no safety about its connection with other mysteries. It lies on the extreme verge of revelation, if revelation it be; and if a step be taken beyond it, the mind finds itself suddenly precipitated into unfathomable depths of darkness. On the other hand, a similar remark may be made with regard to those who argue against every view of predestination, that it leads to consequences derogatory to the honour of God. Here again it is clear, that the human mind may have supposed that there is a dependence of one notion on another which have no real connection, and that it is altogether unjustifiable, therefore, to argue from the untenableness of the one to the falsehood of the other. The contra-remonstrants were fairly chargeable with nothing more than what they themselves generally confessed might be found within the extent of their scheme. When they were pressed with inferences, drawn by others, they might reply, that such conclusions were but the work of a fallible reason, and to the decisions of which they were by no means bound to submit; that numberless errors might have entered in the process of the argument; and that they still re-

turned with confidence to the plain, direct statement of the Word of God ; being fully assured, that if any notion was founded thereon which contradicted holiness and truth, the inconsistency was but the consequence of human error or presumption.

Under the seventh head of the statement referred to, we read, that the true believer is able, for the time, to be certain concerning the integrity of his faith and conscience, so that at the present moment he may and ought to be assured of his salvation, and of the saving mercy of God exercised in his favour ; whence the opinion of the papists on this subject ought to be rejected. And, lastly, it is stated, the true believer can and ought to be certain, as to the future, that he is able, by meditation, watchfulness, prayer and other holy exercises, to persevere in the faith, and that divine grace will never be wanting to that perseverance. But how he may be certain that he will never fail in faith, piety and charity, as becomes a man persevering in the school of Christian warfare, does not appear ; neither does it seem necessary to be certain on such a point.

These propositions are followed by an apology for the occasional introduction of negative statements into the account of the Arminian system. It was impossible for them, say the writers, to describe their own tenets without first showing the errors of their opponents. But marks of displeasure were also exhibited, on the part of the synod, when the remonstrants claimed longer time to explain their views of the catechism, or to exhibit those views according to their own rule and method. To repeated declarations on the latter point, the answer was as constantly given, that the synod had resolved to examine the opinions of the Arminians, not on election only, but on reprobation also, and that they would best show their conscientiousness by a patient and reverential obedience to the judgment of the assembly. When asked again, whether they would give their answers according to the command of the synod, they replied, that their consciences forbade their so doing. Warned of the danger which would attend their persevering in this course, they still gave the same answer, and were then told,

that unless they changed their conduct they would expose themselves to the punishment of contumacy.

On the following day* the remonstrants were again interrogated to the same purpose, and with the same threats. Episcopius then answered, in the name of the body which he represented, that unless full liberty were allowed them to propose, explain and defend their cause, they felt bound in conscience to refuse obedience. The severity with which the assembly received these declarations, and the renewal of the threat, that the punishment due to contumacy would certainly follow them, produced no change in the feelings of the remonstrants. In a full and clear statement of their sentiments on the occasion, they spoke as men who only needed to be heard to justify both their proceedings and their opinions. "As great," said they, "as was the pleasure and delight with which we regarded our citation to this national synod, and in which we understood the opportunity would be afforded us of delivering our sentiments on the five articles, so great is our grief at finding that we are to be confined within the limits which it seems good to the assembly itself to impose. This, neither the justice of the thing itself, nor the cause of truth, nor our own conscience, to the dictates of which, as to their cynosure, the faithful servants of Jesus Christ and the incorrupt assertors of truth must ever turn, will allow us to suffer."†

When the paper which contained this bold expression had been read to the synod, it was inquired, whether it seemed good to the assembly to grant the remonstrants further liberty in their defence. Not a voice was heard, it is said, on the part of either the foreign or provincial theologians, to favour their claims. A fresh statement of the determination of the synod was drawn up, and read to the remonstrants. The threats before uttered were repeated in a more angry tone. It was again and again asked, whether they would submit simply and entirely to the rules of the assembly; and, as if each party gathered force from the violence of the other, the question was answered with a doggedness of temper

* Ses. xl., Dec. 29; Acta Synodi, p. 152.

† Ib., p. 156.

which plainly proved that hope of accommodation would be looked for in vain.* “If,” said they, “the synod will allow of nothing but a categorical answer to the questions proposed, we adhere to our former resolution. But if our request be granted, we will unfold fully and plainly our doctrine on each article; and first on election, and next on reprobation; and we will defend that doctrine, and afterwards refute the opposite opinion of the contra-remonstrants, and of those called orthodox, on each of the articles. And if any thing shall seem wanting in our answers, we will reply to the questions of the president, either in writing or *vivâ voce*, as shall be deemed most fitting. And lest the liberty which we demand should seem without limit, we solemnly promise to keep our statements within due bounds, and to refrain from every thing that might savour of license or petulance.”

The remonstrants had spoken, as we see from the above, of confuting the notions of the contra-remonstrants and the orthodox. Great offence was created by this expression. They were asked to whom they alluded, and whose opinion it was which they purposed to confute. The Arminians coldly answered, that they would let it be known when the time arrived for the discussion. Some well-known writers were then named by the president, and it was asked whether they were the persons intended. To this the remonstrants gave no answer at all.

It was now plainly understood by the synod that its powers were exhausted, and that if the contumacy of the remonstrants received its due measure of punishment, an appeal must be made to the authority of government. This was accordingly determined on, and the remonstrants were commanded not to leave the city, and on no account to preach or hold meetings in the neighbouring villages. On the 3d of January, the directions received from the *Ordines Generales* were read in the synod, and the remonstrants found themselves at once exposed to the danger of incurring political as well as ecclesiastical penalties. It was added

* *Acta Synodi*, p. 162.

at the conclusion of the instrument which commanded their submission, that if they persevered in despising the authority of the synod, their published works and ordinary explications of doctrine must be carefully examined, and that their opinions so deduced would be then judged of according to the Word of God. They were, moreover, ordered to confine themselves strictly within the boundaries of the city, and to answer, categorically, as often as they might be questioned, sincerely, plainly, and without any excuse or tergiversation. It was accordingly asked, whether they were ready to obey the injunctions of the supreme authority in the state, or persevered in their former course? Episcopus immediately replied, that being fully resolved to do all things in the fear of the Lord, and having earnestly sought help of heaven, he could not depart from his original resolution, or give any other answer than that which he had now so frequently returned. His companions declared their perfect agreement in these sentiments, and Henry Hollinger added, with energy, that he foresaw that, did they yield, their weakness would tend not only to the overthrow of their own cause, but, still worse, to the subversion and oppression of truth itself; that it would wound men's consciences, offend God, bring scandal on the Church, and on innumerable pious worshippers of Christ, and excite the anger of God against themselves. "I will, therefore," said he, "imitate the example of Christ. I will be silent, and leave the event to him who will come to judge the quick and the dead."

Not satisfied with this, the president made another experiment on the firmness of the remonstrants, and demanded, whether they considered the decree concerning the salvation of the faithful, who persevere, to be the only decree concerning predestination to salvation, and that there is no other predestination to life revealed in the gospel. Episcopus replied, calmly and briefly, "I persist in my answer;" and he was followed without hesitation by his companions; Poppius adding, "Since no regard is shown for my conscience, I cannot

expect from the synod a fair and true inquiry; and I am, therefore, under no obligation to reply."

The president continuing his questions, the same answers were again and again returned. A long and carefully drawn up paper was submitted to the synod, containing the reasons on which the remonstrants founded their right thus to oppose its demands. This document having been examined by the assembly, it was stated, in reply, that its arguments rested on three assertions. The first, that not sufficient room was given for the explanation of the doctrines referred to; and to this it was answered, that a greater latitude was plainly conceded to them by the decree of the synod when they should appear to answer the interrogatories put to them; and that it was not only permitted them in so doing to state their objections to contrary doctrines, but that they were commanded to do it. The second of the assertions spoken of respected the nature of the synod, and its authority was rejected because said to arise from a hostile party. But this, it is stated, was wholly refuted by the clear and powerful testimony of the foreign divines. In the third place, it was objected, that the decrees both of the synod and of the illustrious orders were in direct opposition to the consciences of those whom they were intended to govern. To this the answer was, that the remonstrants made too much of their consciences, and that by speaking as they did it was almost made to appear that those by whom they were summoned had no conscience at all. In the next place the president inquired, what they understood by *obedience*, when they said in their theses, that God had elected with respect to an antecedent obedience. Episcopus replied, "I see no reason to depart from my former statement. If I did not fear God, I should not act as I do." Poppius observed, "Nowhere have I read that it is permitted to pastors, whether separately or together, to enter into judgment with their fellow ministers." The president replied, that power was given to pastors, in the Word of God, to inquire into the doctrines of their fellow pastors; and that there ought to be inspectors in

the Church of God, authorized to judge concerning the opinions and motives of its doctors. He then asked him, whether he wished to deprive the Church of that discipline which Christ and the apostles had instituted. Poppius answered, that the man whose conscience was his law could submit to no command till his conscience was satisfied.* The president replied, that this observation savoured of superciliousness; for that while the remonstrants passed their judgment freely on the course pursued by the synod, they refused to submit their own conduct to a fair and open trial. Liberty was allowed them, he added, as far as was consistent with the nature of the inquiry; but the synod itself was circumscribed in its powers, and nothing could be more deserving of censure than the attempt which they were making to set up their own notions as a rule, instead of submitting to the decree of the supreme authority of the state.

But notwithstanding these renewed efforts on the part of the synod, and aided as it now was by the declared sentiments of the government, the controversy remained precisely in the same state as at first. Questions put in every possible form received the same laconic reply: "Allow us to speak as we choose, and we will answer your interrogatories: if not, we remain silent." "It is not our wish," said Episcopius, "to lay down rules for the synod, but neither will we allow it to impose laws on us. We employ no subterfuges, for we have nothing to conceal. We are not ashamed of our doctrine. It involves no sophistries, no ambiguities, nothing respecting which we do not court inquiry. Unlike the system of the contra-remonstrants, it inculcates no principles which can be regarded as injurious to the divine glory, or as opposed to piety, and the truth of the gospel; let us, therefore, unfold and defend our views in the manner we think best, and we will answer six hundred or six thousand questions.† But if this be not

* Acta Synodi, p. 201.

† *Ib.*, p. 209. Episcopius and his colleagues were ordered to put the substance of their speeches into writing. This was done, and the paper formally presented to the synod. It was frequently referred to in after proceedings of the assembly, as containing a decided profession of willingness to declare whatever pertained to the disputed doctrine. *Quinimo uti hactenus*

conceded, we see no reason why we should change our resolution, or answer the questions of the synod." To other remarks of a similar kind the president replied, that they were striving to obtain the liberty of not only defending themselves, but of disturbing the minds of others. This aroused the anger of the remonstrants, and they protested that such a desire had never been either named or felt by their party. One of them then declaring that he could not in his conscience submit to be directed by those whom he knew to be his enemies, the president replied, that he deserved praise for his candour, for that he had stated truly the real cause of the present disputes, and shown that the remonstrants only refused to answer, lest they might seem to acknowledge the right of the synod to pass sentence on their opinions.

A lingering hope was still entertained by some of the foreign theologians, that it might yet be possible to accommodate the dispute.* The resolution with which Episcopus and his associates acted secured them respect; and there was every reason to fear that, whatever course the synod pursued, a party would be formed which might sooner or later possess sufficient power to shake the foundation of the Belgic churches. It is evident, from the length of time employed in conferring with the remonstrants, that the principal members of the synod eagerly desired to discover some reason for not proceeding hastily against them. Bogermann was untiring in his endeavours to silence their objections, and induce them to state their opinions in the manner desired by the assembly. "The synod," he said, "at all times spoke

semper, ita impresentiarum aperte iterum atque ingenue profiteamur, tantum abesse ut sententiam nostram occultatam cupiamus, aut ulla subterfugia queramus, ut contra ideo nobis plenariam potestatem concedi petamus, explicandi et defendendi sententiam nostram quantum possumus, et necessarium judicamus, ne quisquam deinde sit qui jure aliquid ultra a nobis desiderare possit, quod ad exactam totius causæ cognitionem facere ulla ratione videatur.

* This feeling in their favour, expressed by the foreign theologians, was highly applauded by the remonstrants, though they were soon after taught to believe that the milder sentiments of the foreigners originated in error. There was also a clergyman of Groningen who said publicly, "that he was not of the mind of his colleagues in this business, but agreed with the foreign divines."—*Acta Synodi Brandt, Hist. of Reform.*, vol. III., b. xxxvi., p. 146.

plainly and distinctly, but they obscurely: the synod declared that it was ready to give them all the liberty which either divine or human laws would justify its granting: there was no need, therefore, of those subterfuges under which they concealed their real intentions, and sought to impose laws upon the synod which it neither ought nor was able to admit."

At the conclusion of the conference,* in which these observations were made, the remonstrants were ordered to depart the assembly; and on the afternoon of the same day, it was determined, that the remonstrants should be left to themselves till an examination of their published opinions should enable the synod to proceed against them according to the authority given it by the Church. This determination was made known to the accused in a formal statement which they were summoned to hear read; and three days after they were again called before the synod, and thus addressed by the president: "The moderation of the foreigners, which you so much extolled, proceeded out of their error, which to-day having understood, they have pronounced concerning you another sentence. Upon Friday last, when you seemed to disclaim an unlimited liberty, and gave hope of some conformity, they dealt with the synod in your favour; but, to-day, understanding you to abuse the synod, and fly back to your former claim, they all, with one consent, think you *indignos esse quibuscum diutius res agatur*. One amongst them there is who hath taken the pains to map out your behaviour since your first appearance in the synod. Pretend you what you will, the true cause of this your indisposition is, that you take the synod but as the adverse part, and account yourselves in equal place with it. This conceit hath manifested itself in all your actions. Theses upon the question in controversy you gave up; but so confused, so nothing to the purpose, that no use can be made of them. The decrees of the synod you have openly contemned. The interrogatories put you, you have refused to answer. Your citatory letters, notwithstanding the sense thereof was expounded by those who gave them, and therefore best knew it, you

* Sess. liv., lv., 11th January.—Acta Synodi, p. 216.

have interpreted as you list, and professed that you will proceed according to your own judgment, and not according to the judgment of the synod. At length, on Friday last, you seemed to resign your claim to unlimited liberty, and gave hope of some conformity : but all this, in your writing now exhibited,* you have retracted. The synod hath dealt mildly, gently, and favourably with you; but, *sinceritati, lenitati, mansuetudini synodi, fraudes, artes, et mendacia opposuistis*. I will dismiss you with no other elogy than one of the foreigners gave you : *Quo cæpistis pede, eodem cedite*. With a lie you made your entrance into the synod ; with a lie you take your leave of it, in denying lately that ever you protested yourselves provided to give answer on the articles, or to have had any such writing ready, which all the synod knows to be false. Your actions all have been full of fraud, equivocations and deceit. That, therefore, the synod may at length piously and peaceably proceed to the perfecting of that business for which it is come together, you are dismissed. But assure you, the synod shall make known your pertinacy to all the Christian world ; and know that the Belgic churches want not *arma spiritualia* with which in time convenient they will proceed against you. *Quamobrem vos delegatorum et synodi nomine dimitto. Exite!*"

As these words were pronounced, the remonstrants rose, and left the assembly, Episcopus exclaiming, as he went out, "We make no answer to these accusations, but keep silence with our Saviour, Jesus Christ, who will one day determine respecting these our lies and deceits." Another of the party said, "We appeal to the judgment of God, at which they who now sit as judges will appear to be judged."†

Anxious as were most of the members of the synod to see its authority asserted, and to oblige the remonstrants to render an explicit statement of their doctrines, there were still many who deeply regretted that the president spoke with so little regard to Christian charity,

* Acta Synodi, p. 220.

† Ib., p. 204. Hale's Letters from the Synod of Dort to the Right Hon. Sir D. Carlton, lord ambassador, p. 76.

or the dignity of the assembly. "Since the dismissal of the remonstrants," says Hales, * "there hath not been any public session, and, as I conjecture, for awhile will not be. They are altogether in consultation concerning their order of proceeding, and in gathering materials out of the remonstrants' books, whence they may frame their theses and propositions, which must be the subject of their disputation. This they purpose, as I conceive, to do throughout all the five articles, before they come to the open discussion of any one, for they are past from the first and gone on to the second. So that, till this consultation be ended, there will not be any great occasion of news. Against Mr. Præses' so rough handling the remonstrants at their dismissal, there are some exceptions taken by the deputies themselves. The foreigners think themselves a little indirectly dealt withal, in that, it being proposed to the whole synod to pass their judgment concerning the behaviour of the remonstrants, *the provincials were not at all required to speak*, and by these means the envy of the whole business was derived upon the foreigners. Whereas, on the contrary, when the like question was proposed formerly, and the foreigners had spoken very favourably in the remonstrants' behalf, the provincials struck in, and established a rigid sentence against the foreigners' liking. *So that there is little regard given to the judgment of the foreigners, except they speak as the provincials would have them.*" Again; "upon the Tuesday session, in the morning, there being a repetition made, according to the custom of the late synodical acts, when they came to the act of the remonstrants' dismissal, Lud. Crosius of Breme signified that he perceived that Mr. Præses in that business had been *paulo commotior*, and had let slip *verba quædam acerba*, which might well have been spared; that in so great an act as that was, a little more advice and consideration might have been used. The synod ought to have been consulted with, and a form of dismissal conceived, and approved of, by all, which should in the name of the synod have been pronounced and registered; whereas, now, the synod stands indicted of all that unne-

* Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 78.

cessary roughness which then was practised. It had stood better with the honour of the synod to have held a more peaceable and passionless order. The præses replied, that for dismissing the remonstrants without a synodical form, it was from the secular lords, who willed him immediately to proceed. What his apology was for his passionate speeches, I know not."

In another letter sent a few days after the above, he says, "The errors of public actions, if they be not very gross, are with less inconvenience tolerated than amended. For the danger of alteration, of disgracing and disabling authority, makes that the fortune of such proceedings admits no regress, but being one howsoever well or ill done, they must for ever after be upheld.* The most partial spectator of our synodical acts cannot but confess, that in the late dismissal of the remonstrants with so much choler and heat, there was a great oversight committed, and that whether we respect our common profession of Christianity, *quæ nil nisi justum suadet et lene*, or the quality of this people apt to mutine by reason of long liberty, and not having learnt to be imperiously commanded, in which argument the clergy above all men ought to have read their first lesson. The synod, therefore, to whom it is not now *in integro* to look back, and rectify what is amiss without disparagement, must now go forward, and leave events to God, and for the countenance of their action do the best they may. For this purpose have they lately, by deputies appointed for that end, made a declaration of all their proceedings unto the states general, from whom they have procured a decree for confirmation of them, which decree was publicly, first in Dutch, then in Latin, read at the synod in the evening. The particulars I shall not need to relate. . . . The decree being pronounced, † Heinsius first signified that it had been before in private made known to the remonstrants, and then in the name

* Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 78. The dean of Worcester (Bishop Hall) took his departure at this time. His health is said to have obliged him to leave Holland; but the stronger motive was probably furnished by the proceedings of the synod, so contrary in character and spirit to the feelings of that admirable man. He was succeeded by Thomas Goad.

† Acta Synodi, p. 226.

of the delegates warned the commissioners of the synod, *ut quam maturime et celerrime de istis controversiis statuant, ut possint tandem afflictis ecclesiis Belgicis subvenire*. I was very glad to hear that admonition, and it gives me hope that our synod shall have end not long after Easter, at the farthest. After this did Tysius, another of the professors, discuss three other of the remonstrants' arguments, taken out of the Hague conference, according to the same form as Sibrandus and Gomarus had done before. This being done, the præses required Polyander and Wallæus to provide to do the like upon Thursday next, in the evening, for before that time there is to be no public session.*

The present object of the synod was to obtain from its most distinguished members such a full and clear demonstration of opinion on the points in question, that a confession might be drawn up with little hazard of weakness or inconsistency. For this purpose private discussions were commenced; and at several of the meetings the most difficult parts of the controversy were examined with a force and acuteness which would have done credit to the most famous of the schoolmen. No particular account is given of these discussions in the *Acta Synodi*; but the omission is supplied by the temperate and observant Hales. "Upon Tuesday," he says, "of this present,† in the evening, for the debating of certain particular points of controversy, the synod came together in private. It hath been lately questioned, how Christ is said to be *fundamentum electionis*. The doctrine generally received by the contra-remonstrants in this point is, that God first of all resolved upon the salvation of some singular persons; and, in the second place, upon Christ, as a mean to bring this decree to pass. So that, with them, God the Father alone is the author of our election, and Christ only the executioner. Others, on

* Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 84.

† Jan. 22. Instituta fuit, συζήτης, super questionibus, quæ à clariss. D. D. professoribus pertractatæ fuerant, atque in primis illa, quomodo intelligenda sit phrasis hæc, cum scriptura dicit, Eph., i. 4. Nos esse electos in Christo: atque etiam, Quomodo Christus fundamentum electionis dici posset.—*Acta Synodi*, p. 228.

the contrary, teach that Christ is so to be held, *fundamentum electionis*, as that he is not only the executioner of election, but the author and procurer of it. For proof of which they bring the words of the apostle to the Ephesians, the first chapter, *Elegit nos in Christo, ante jacta mundi fundamenta*. The exposition of this text was the especial thing discussed at this meeting, and some taught that Christ was *fundamentum electionis*, because he was *primus electorum*; or because he is *fundamentum beneficiorum* which descend upon us. Others brooked none of those restraints. Gomarus stands for the former sentence, and in defence of it had said many things on Friday. This night Martinus of Breme, being required to speak his mind, signified to the synod, that he made some scruple concerning the doctrine passant about the manner of Christ's being *fundamentum electionis*; and that he thought Christ not only the effector of our election, but also the author and procurer thereof. Gomarus, who owes the synod a shrewd turn, and then, I fear me, began to come out of debt, presently, as soon as Martinus had spoken, starts up, and tells the synod, *Ego hanc rem in me recipio*, and therewithal casts his glove, and challenges Martinus, with this proverb, *Ecce Rhodum, ecce saltum*; and requires the synod to grant them a duel, adding, that he knew Martinus could say nothing in refutation of that doctrine. Martinus who goes in æquipace with Gomarus in learning, and a little before him for his discretion, easily digested this affront, and after some few words of course, by the wisdom of the præses matters seemed to be a little pacified, and so, according to the custom, the synod with prayer concluded. Zeal and devotion had not so well allayed Gomarus's choler, but immediately after prayers he renewed his challenge, and required combat with Martinus again, but they parted for that night without blows. Martinus, as it seems, is somewhat favourable to some tenets of the remonstrants concerning reprobation, the latitude of Christ's merits, the salvation of infants, &c.; and, to bring him to some conformity, was there a private meeting of the foreign divines, upon Wed-

nesday morning, in my lord bishop's lodging, in which thus much was obtained, that though he would not have his conclusions, yet he promised moderation and temper, in such manner, that there should be no dissension in the synod by reason of any opinion of his. Upon Thursday, 24th, the synod being met in the evening, Polyander and Wallæus undertook the defence of some places of scripture brought by the contra-remonstrants against the exceptions of the remonstrants. The places of scripture were, Luke, x. 20. *Gaudete, quia nomina vestra scripta sunt in cælis.* Apocal., xxi. 27. *Inscripti in libro vitæ.* Rom., ix. 11. *Ut propositum Dei secundum electionem maneret;* and xi. 5. *Reservatio secundum electionem;* and Rom., viii. 13. *Quos predestinavit ut conformes fiant imaginì Filii sui, eos etiã vocavit.* Acts, xiii. 48. *Crederunt quotquot erant ordinati ad vitam æternam.* Upon these places these two spake almost three hours. It was expected that as the rest of the professors hitherto have done, so Dr. Davenant, the next professor, should speak in public. It is said that he shall do it this day in a private session, for there is no public till Monday, and what will then be done, I know not. What the meaning is of this audience only in private, I know not."*

* It was about this time that the remonstrants sent in "a large paper, in the form of a sealed letter, to the synod, which came indeed to the hands of the president, and was considered by him in company of a few of the members, but never communicated to the synod, to whom it was directed. To prevent this disappointment, the remonstrants had forborn on purpose to direct it to the president, having superscribed it, 'To the most worthy, pious and learned the doctors, professors, and the rest of the clergy assembled in the national synod at Dort.' Alluding to their dismissal, they say, 'At that time we made but little reply, but followed the advice of the preacher, Strive not with those who are in wrath.' Having described the treatment they had received, they further affirm that there never was any design of allowing them such liberty as was necessary for the defence of their cause: that the synod had twice endeavoured to make *Episcopus* a liar: that, in general, they had been treated with great partiality and injustice, especially, when they were dismissed the synod with such a severe valedictory speech, and when the president dwelt so long upon the lies wherewith he so unjustly charged the aforementioned professor. 'If,' they added, 'the synodical acts, as drawn up by our adversaries, testify otherwise, our own account of those acts, you may be sure, shall set matters in a true light. Our testimony will meet with as much credit from our friends as that of the whole synod from theirs. For, God be praised, we have hitherto lived after such a manner through his grace, that our fidelity and our whole conversation has been as satisfactory to the people as our doctrine, and even though we had been guilty of any mistakes, for we are but men, we ought not immediately to have been treated like villains.'—Brandt,

A few days after another letter was sent, in which we read, "At the evening session, the point of Reprobation was scholastically and learnedly discussed by Altingius, one of the palatine professors.* His discourse was the most sufficient of any that yet I heard. He began from the definition, and proceeded to how far God had a hand in it, and how far man is the author of his own destruction; and, lastly, answered the remonstrants' arguments. He spake about an hour and a half. I would willingly have given an account of his speech, but it was in the evening, and the auditory are allowed no candles, so that I could not use my tables. And thus have they discussed the first article; though I could have wished that the question of reprobation had been yet farther opened and stood upon, it being a point of large extent, and especially insisted on by the remonstrants. As for synodical resolution in this first article, that we must yet expect, till all the rest be examined as this hath been. There is no open session till Friday next, after diuner; and then is it their purpose to enter upon the second article of *Universal Grace*, at which time Mr. Balcanqual and Cruciger of Hassia are appointed to speak, according as the rest have done before, to this question, *Whether the death of Christ were intended indifferently for all, or only for the elect?* Upon Wednesday, the 30th of January, in the evening, was there a private session, wherein, belike for the making of better speed, they consulted whether they should go on to examine the rest of the articles after the same manner they had done the first, or else bethink them of some more speedy order. After a long disputation, even so long that Polyander put the præses in mind of the exceeding sharpness of the weather, they at length concluded

History of the Reformation in the Low Countries, vol. III., b. xxxvii., p. 206.

* Letters from the Synod of Dort. p. 90. Clarissimus D. Doctor H. Altingius publice doctrinam de reprobatione, atque imprimis reformatæ Ecclesiæ de eadem sententiam et causam ostendit, addiditque explicationem trium hypothesium: 1. Quod per hanc doctrinam, Deus non statuatur autor peccati. 2. Quod peccata, etsi statuantur reprobationis consequentia, tamen ex natura hominis corrupta, ut unica eorum causa, promanent. 3. Quod induratio et excæcatio justa sint Dei judicia, atque hac ratione Deo attribui possint.—Acta Synodi, p. 237.

that they would go on in the same course they had begun."

In the account of another similar meeting it is said, "As the provincial professors had done, so was Davenant, who is the first professor of the foreigners, enjoined by the præses to do. The intent of his discourse, at that time, was to overthrow certain distinctions framed by the remonstrants for the maintenance of their positions, and evasion from the contra-remonstrants' arguments. The remonstrants usually distinguish upon election, and divide it into *definitam et indefinitam, revocabilem et irrevocabilem, peremptoriam et non peremptoriam, mutabilem et immutabilem*, and the like. For the refutation of which distinctions, he first set down the definition of *election* brought by the contra-remonstrant, and at large confirmed it. Secondly, he brought the definition of *election* agreed on by the remonstrant, and argued against it. And, thirdly, he directly oppugned these fore-cited distinctions, all which he did learnedly and fully. When Dr. Davenant had spoken, the auditory was commanded to depart. For, having a purpose that others should speak at the same time, and fearing that some diversity of opinion might rise and occasion some dissension, it was thought fit that things should be transacted as privately as might be. Many more of the foreigners delivered themselves that night; and amongst the rest, Martinius of Breme proposed again his former doubts unto the synod concerning the sense in which Christ is said to be *fundamentum electionis*, and requested to be resolved. But Gomarus at this time was somewhat better advised, and thought it best to hold his peace. This day will there be a private meeting, wherein every company will give up their judgments, in writing, upon the first article; and to-morrow, I understand, they will go on unto the second, and proceed in it accordingly, as they have in the former. As for any *decisive sentence*, they will give none, till they have thus gone through all the five. This, I suppose, they do very discreetly. For since the articles are mutually linked together, it is most convenient they should first go through them all, since a predetermination in the former might bind them to

some inconvenience in the latter, there being no place left to look back, but stand they must to what they have once concluded. For avoiding of this, it is thought best to determine of all at once."* In a short letter written soon after the above, it is stated, that Scultetus spake at large, *de certitudine gratiæ et salutis*, and that he argued that it was necessary for every man to be assured of his salvation. "But the manner of his discourse was oratorical, the same that he uses in his sermons; not scholastical, and according to that fashion of disputation and schools. For this cause the question was neither deeply searched into, nor strongly proved. Two or three days after, Balcanqual and Cruciger of Hassia entered upon the discussion of the second article. The former, it is said, spoke for above an hour, ingeniously and eloquently. 'When they had done,' it is added, 'the præses enjoined Steinius of Hassia, upon Tuesday next, in the evening (at which time will be the next open session), to speak of the fourth article (for of the third there is no question), and to sound, *whether the grace of God converting us be resistible*, as the remonstrants would have it. This haste that is made in the sudden passing from one article to another is much marvelled at by our English divines: for the colleges yet have not all given up their opinion upon the first; and besides, that the remonstrants upon Wednesday last were willed to give in their arguments upon the first article. For, notwithstanding they be excluded from personal appearance in the synod, yet are they commanded to exhibit to the synod whatsoever they shall please to command.'"

Hales' last and most important letter is dated February the 7th.† In this he says, "Our synod goes on like a watch, the main wheels upon which the whole business turns are least in sight. For all things of moment are acted in private session; what is done in public is only for show and entertainment." Certain matters of inferior moment having been settled, "They entered into consultation concerning certain books and writings, to be conceived, partly for declaration of the synod's meaning in the doctrine of the five articles,

* Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 91.

† Ib., p. 94.

partly in apology for it. And first it was proposed that there should be *scriptum didacticum*, a plain and familiar writing drawn, wherein the doctrine of the five articles, according to the intent and meaning of the synod, should be perspicuously expressed, for the capacity of the common sort, and that in Dutch and Latin. The apologetical writings were of two sorts, first, *scriptum elenchicum*, wherein there were to be refuted such errors as had been lately broached in prejudice of the received doctrine. Secondly, *scriptum historicum*, which was to consist of two parts; first, a narration of the synod's proceedings with the remonstrant, from the day of his first appearance till the time of his ejection; for the refutation of many bitter invectives which lately had been written against the synod in that behalf: secondly, a relation *de causis turbarum*, who were the authors of the late stirs in time of the separation; for answer of Episcopius's orations, and other writings of the remonstrants, in which the whole disorder is turned upon the contra-remonstrant. For the *scriptum didacticum* the English were altogether against it, and so was Vosbergius. Their reason was, because it seemed incongruous that any writing concerning the doctrine of the articles should be set forth before the synod had given sentence. And, indeed, I must confess, I see no great congruity in the proposal. Whilst matters are in controversy, judges walk suspensely, and are indifferent for either party; and whatsoever their intent be, yet they make no overture of it till time of sentence come. All this business of *citing, inquiring, examining*, must needs seem only as acting on a stage, if the synod intempestively beforehand bewray a resolution. But, notwithstanding any reason alledgable against it, the thing is concluded, and Wallæus, Udemannus, and Triglandius are deputed to write a discourse to that purpose, with the inspection and supervision of my lord bishop, Scultetus, Brittengerus, and Deodatus. For the *scriptum historicum*, in the first part, concerning the proceeding of the synod with the remonstrant, there is required the pains of Scultetus and Triglandius; in the second part, *de causis turbarum*, Latius must bestow his labour with the help of Festus

Hommius, of the South Hollanders and North Hollanders, who, best of any, know the whole carriage of that matter. To the composing of the *scriptum elenchicum* there are deputed four of the provincial professors, Polyander, Lubbertus, Gomarus and Thysius, to whom are adjoined, as helpers and supervisors, Davenant, Altingius and Martinius."

It is evident, from many intimations given in these letters, that the members of the synod were far from being of one opinion on the points proposed for their decision. Thus it is said, in respect to the writing spoken of above, that "the business of this writing passed not without some opposition: Deodatus altogether disliked it: Polyander requested that his pains might be spared. 'Novi,' saith he, '*quam sit mihi curta supeller.*' But above all, Gomarus was most offended at the proposal: '*Bella mihi video, bella parantur,*' he saith; and therefore, quite refusing to consent to any polemical writing, he advised that the *scriptum didacticum* should abstain, *à non necessariis et privatis*, and contain only necessary points, such as pass by common consent. That they should expect, till the remonstrant had set forth some adverse writing, and then would be a fitter time to think of somewhat in this kind."

There was wisdom, it appears, in this resolution of the great antagonist of Arminius and his doctrine. "I blame not Gomarus," says Hales, "if he a little recoil. For, being of the supralapsarii, as they term them, of those who bring the decree of God's election from before the fall, and seeing the synod not willing to move that way, but to subside in a lower sphere, he is to be pardoned if he deny his hand to that writing, which he supposes cannot be so warily indicted, but he must be forced with his own pen to let fall somewhat prejudicial to his own opinion."

The anxiety felt at this particular juncture to preserve appearances was ill concealed. "It was not his desire," observed the president, "to force the synod against their minds to set out the book in question, but only to take hold of the present occasion whilst the foreign divines were there; and to have such a book in

readiness, for use hereafter, though it were not now set forth." It is also said, "He farther advised, that those who were to undertake this should have an eye to the inclination of the synod, and beware, as much as might be, that they touched not there where any man was sore." Our good chaplain remarks on this, "Whatsoever the pretence is, the mentioning of these books, before the determination of the synod be formally set down, must needs be very unseasonable. *It will make the world think they came resolved what to do, which though perchance they did, yet it is no wisdom to confess it.*" Many doubts, moreover, were still entertained by some, in opposition to the general views of the synod on *Universal Grace*. Martinus and Dr. Ward were the chief agitators on this subject. Hence, we are told, "For composing the doubts of both these, that they break not out to any public inconvenience, there hath been of late many private meetings in my lord bishop's lodging, where, upon Wednesday morning, were drawn certain theses in very suspence and wary terms. To what end, whether to give content to all parties, or to exhibit to the synod, or what else, I know not."*

From the correspondence which was continued with the English ambassador after the departure of Hales, by Walter Balcanqual, we gather still further important intimations respecting the real state of feeling in the synod. The greatest anxiety prevailed as to the second of the five articles. "This day," says Balcanqual, "the president sent to our particular college some particular strange points which he had drawn out of their late explication of the second article, and in very pathetic terms did by his letter entreat us to have a care of condemning them in our judgment of the same article. Concerning this second article, I beseech your lordship, give me leave to express my grief. As there is difference touching it in the synod, so there is much difference about it in our own college. Will your lordship be pleased to give me leave to say something of it, but no ways as from me? The question amongst us is, whether the words of the

* Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 94.

scripture, which are likewise the words of our confession (*Christus oblatus est aut mortuus pro toto humano genere, seu pro peccatis totius mundi*),* be to be understood of all particular men, or only of the elect, who consist of all sorts of men. Dr. Davenant and Dr. Ward are of Martinus of Breme's mind, that it is to be understood of all particular men. The other three take the other exposition, which is of the writers of the reformed churches, and, namely, of my late lord of Salisbury. Both sides think they are right, and therefore cannot yield one unto another with a safe conscience."†

Nothing can better illustrate the importance attached to the decisions of the synod than the earnestness with which the writer of the above proceeds to impress upon the ambassador's mind the necessity of care and vigilance. That the matter referred to should be made an object of diplomatic interference affords no favourable view of the circumstances under which the synod had assembled, or under which it was now carrying on its discussions. "It is, my lord," says Dr. Balcanqual, "a matter of great consequence for us to set down the exposition of one article of our church confession. Will your lordship therefore be pleased to think of this proposition, since our judgment of none of the five articles is to be known till we have done with them all? What if we should desire the president to take no notice, but to let us go on to the rest of the articles, and in meantime we should send into England the true state of our controversy, and have advice there, from some of the chief of the Church, what exposition they would have to be given of that article of their confession, which we may safely follow, for it is no matter of salvation in which we differ? Before we have done with the rest of the articles we may easily have one answer from England. If your lordship like this motion, or any other, your lordship should do well by your letters to us to desire it: if not, I beseech your lordship pardon my error,

* John, iii., 16, 17.

† Dr. Balcanqual's Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 101. The letter quoted is dated February 9th; but little information is given in the *Acta Synodi* of the proceedings at this time, the most important of which, as Hales says, took place in private.

which proceedeth only from my fear of destruction among ourselves, and from my obedience to his majesty's charge, who commanded me in all such cases to have recourse to your lordship for counsel."

The ambassador readily availed himself of Dr. Balcanqual's suggestions; and his letters to the synod, though received with some expressions of surprise and anger, were not disregarded in any of its subsequent discussions; but the main cause of uneasiness still continued. "Since my last letters," says Balcanqual, "we have agreed upon some propositions which are, without question, true; but they were such as did no ways decide the question controverted in the synod. We retained the words of scripture, and our own confessions, but all the difference is in the interpretation of these words. When the canons of the second article come to be made, it will be determined *whether Christ did really persolvere pretium redemptionis pro omnibus ac singulis hominibus, an pro solis electis.*"

Having renewed his entreaties that the ambassador would again exercise his influence to the quieting of the disputes in the synod, he mentions the book which the remonstrants had sent in as containing a full account of their sentiments. This manuscript consisted of two hundred folio pages, and, "in good faith," he says, "I was ashamed to think that men of judgment could imagine that the synod could have time to peruse it; for it is a little Book of Martyrs." But the volume was produced at the next meeting, and the president stated that "he had cast a general glance over it all, and did find that a few of the first leaves did contain a confirmation of their opinion of the first article, but all the rest did contain nothing but a confutation of the contra-remonstrants' opinion, and an exagitation of their persons." Then comes the following extraordinary statement: "We desired some of it to be read. I must needs say the remonstrants had no favour; for I will assure your lordship that the president picked out the worst part of it. There were some five leaves read, which contained nothing but a bitter satire against Calvin,

Beza, Paræus, Piscator, Whittaker, Perkins, Bogermann, Festus, and twenty more. But in truth, *though unhappily, yet finely* penned, methought it was Episcopius's tongue. About the taking notice of this book, the suffrages of the synod did vary much; yet most voices were, that it should be committed to some deputed by the synod, who should diligently peruse it, and relate unto the synod if they found any new thing in it which was not contained in their former writings, but yet so that any member of the synod that would, might be present with the perusers. The delegates gave this mediatory sentence, because they had observed, that both the parts of it were desired by many. They desired there might be a forenoon session or two kept for the nonce; in which that small part of the book, which contained the confirmation of their opinion, might be read, and every man take with his pen what he should think fit; the rest to be put over to perusers, who should make relation to the synod of any thing they found new or fit. And therefore, the assessors, and Dammannus the scribe, were entreated to run over the book, and make choice of what things they thought fit to be read in the synod." *

The propriety of leaving the assessors and scribe to make such extracts as it might suit their judgment to select would probably be questioned by most impartial observers. But if the passages were chosen with any degree of fairness, the cause of the remonstrants must have rested on far weaker grounds than the genius and learning of many of its defenders would have led us to expect. "There were read publicly," says Balcanqual, "forty-seven pages of the remonstrants' book, all which did contain only one answer to the first four places produced by the contra-remonstrants in Collatione Hag., whereby they prove that *velle Deum solos fideles salvos facere, et infideles in ira relinquere* is not *totum et integrum prædestinationis decretum*. The like tedious prolixity, sometimes racking of scripture, sometimes paring and chipping of it, hath not been heard. There was

* Balcanqual's Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 103.

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nothing in it which did not rather make men out of love with their cause than affect it.”*

But in the same letter we read of quarrels between the members of the synod, “very much against the dignity of such an assembly.” Martinius, it seems, was distinguished throughout for great mildness of spirit; and his earnest endeavours to moderate the angry zeal with which the majority of the synod sought to precipitate measures against the remonstrants, were generally admired by the English and other foreign divines. Gomarus and his party neglected no opportunity of showing their hostility to this amiable man, who was sound, it is said, in all the five articles, except the second, as any man in the synod; “notwithstanding,” it is added, “of all this, because he doth mislike many of the *contra-remonstrants*’ broad speeches in many points, which I think every learned and godly man will do, they use him with so much discourtesy, that he hath been very near leaving the synod, and his colleagues were half purposed to go with him. What a blow this would give to the credit of the synod, any man may easily perceive. The provincials in this take not the right course. Though one be against the remonstrants in all the five articles, in substance, yet if he differ from them but in manner of speaking, they hold him as not sound.”†

The intimations which are thus given of the feeling which prevailed among the ruling members of this famous synod, are invaluable to those who desire to form a correct estimate of the rank which ought to be assigned to it as a judge of controversy. It is not of the doctrines debated that opinions more or less favourable can be established by any thing which took place in such an assembly. But the memory of men like Arminius depends for its character on that which is known of their opponents; and when we hear at one time that Gomarus “delivered a speech which none but a madman would have uttered,” and at another, that his

* *Hac sessione scriptum remonstrantium ad defensionem primi et explicationem secundi articuli, prælectum fuit*, is all that is said in the *Acta*: so again, *Prælectum fuit scriptum remonstrantium, ad declarationem tertii et quarti articuli, synodo exhibitum*.—*Acta Synodi*, p. 233.

† Balcanqual’s *Letters from the Synod of Dort*, p. 109.

colleague Scultetus "delivered his mind in exceeding bitter and disgraceful words, and repeated his bitterest sentences twice over," it is impossible not to conclude that the opinions of Arminius ought never to be judged of through the representations of his cotemporaries.* Scenes, it is evident, took place in the synod which men of temper could only behold with disgust or ridicule. Thus Gomarus, it is said, delivered his speeches "with such sparkling of his eyes and fierceness of pronunciation, that every man wondered the president did not cut him off. At last he cut himself off, I think, for want of breath; and the president giveth *celeberrimo Doctori Gomaro* many thanks for that his learned, grave and accurate speech. *The exteri wondered at it!*"

To an English prelate, naturally sedate, and accustomed to the dignified manner in which ecclesiastical proceedings were conducted in his own country, the violence of Gomarus and others must have appeared destructive of every good object contemplated in the calling of the synod. Nothing, indeed, but necessity, and the command of his sovereign, can be imagined as sufficient to keep a faithful and learned bishop in an assembly so constituted and conducted. He could not, however, altogether suppress the expression of his sorrow at what he beheld. "At last," it is said, "my lord of Landaff, in good faith, in a very grave, short, sweet speech, spake to the president to this purpose, that this synodical disquisition was instituted for edification, not for any men to show *studium contentionis*; and, therefore, did desire him to look that the knot of unity were not broken."

The bishop was careful not to name any one, but "the last word was hardly out of my lord's lips, when furious

* In a later letter we find: "If the synod had wanted but two men which are of it, we had wanted a great deal of contention, which I perceive will not forsake the synod so long as they are in it,—I mean Sibrandus and Gomarus. They keep their fits of madness by course. The last fit before this came to Gomarus turn; and this day Sibrandus flew out, but with such raving and fierceness of countenance, such unheard of bitterness against our college, as I desire no other revenge on him than the very speaking of the words..... For Sibrandus, I blame him and Gomarus no more for their extasies than I do a stone for going downwards, since it is the natural constitution of both"—Letters, p. 140.

Gomarus, knowing himself guilty, delivereth this wise speech: ‘Most reverend president, we must act in the synod as governed not by authority, but by reason.’ The bishop made no reply, but the president ‘told my lord that celeberrimus dominus Gomarus had said nothing against men’s persons, but their opinions, and therefore that he had said nothing worthy of reprehension.’” “This,” it is observed, “gave every man just occasion to think the president was in the plot. Martinus said nothing, but that he was sorry that he should have this reward for his far journey.”

Fears were properly entertained, that the unjust treatment of Martinus, and the affront to which the bishop of Landaff had been subjected, would tend to the speedy breaking up of the assembly. “We, the English,” says Balcanqual, “are purposed, but I know not whether that purpose shall hold, to desire the delegates to take notice of the wrong offered by Gomarus to my lord of Landaff. All I will say is this, there are two men in the synod, Sibrandus, but especially Gomarus, who are able to set it on fire, unless they be looked to. I think there is no man will say, but that Gomarus hath wronged the Bremenses infinitely, hath wronged exceedingly my lord of Landaff, and in him all the English college.”*

Apprehensions being generally entertained that serious consequences would attend any further violence, the discussions in the synod began to assume a more tranquil character. In the report of what took place in the 106th session, held on the 8th of March, it is stated, that the judgment of all the foreign theologians concerning the first article had now been read; and, that “nothing was to be seen among them but full and orthodoxal consent;” for which, says Balcanqual, “the president told us God was to be praised, and he prayed God that the like harmony might be found among the provincials.” To this is added the important observation, that none of the colleges had failed to oppose the opinion of Gomarus on the *subject* of predestination; all of them expressly taking for granted, that not *homo*

* Balcanqual’s Letters from the Synod of Dert, p. 114.

creabilis, man still to be created, but *homo lapsus*, was the subject both of *election* and *reprobation*.

Among the Belgic professors themselves, difference of opinion prevailed to an alarming extent. Their company, or college, as it was called, consisted of but five members; and when they gave in their papers, they were found to contain three separate judgments on the one point urged with so much warmth and pertinacity by Gomarus. The latter readily acknowledged, that he approved of their sentiments in every respect, with the single exception of what was said to show that *hominem lapsum* is the object of predestination. But he ventured to add, in defence of his own notion, that the question had not been determined in either the Belgic, French or English churches. This assertion was well calculated to excite the displeasure of the divines belonging to the churches last named. Accordingly, in the afternoon, the bishop of Landaff requested leave to address the synod. He then said, "Dr. Gomarus, in the forenoon, delivered, that this question, whether *homo lapsus* be *subjectum prædestinationis*, had not been determined by the confession of the Church of France, and, as I and my colleagues conceived, he delivered the like for the confession of the Church of England. And, therefore, I do entreat Dr. Gomarus, in my own name, and in the name of my colleagues, to declare before the synod, whether he did say so or not. Dr. Gomarus, with good modesty answered, that indeed he did say so; but he protested it was not out of any evil meaning, but only to shew that, as other churches, so the Church of England had left that undetermined, since the words of the confession determined no farther of the subject than, *quosdam ex humano genere*. The bishop replied, that he himself, and his colleagues, could not choose but think themselves by that speech 'touched for temerity or ignorance. For, since they in their judgment had delivered the contrary for *homo lapsus*, it was as much as to say, that they had delivered that in the synod which was not according to the judgment of the Church of England; but to let the synod know that they had said nothing in their judgment which was not the judgment

of their Church, they desired the synod to hear the words of their confession.' So Dr. Goad read publicly the seventeenth article of the confession, where the words are, *quosdam ex humano genere, in exitio et maledicto*, which last words Gomarus had left out. Gomarus answered, that if he had understood the words of the confession amiss, he would submit himself to the judgment of the synod. The president told Gomarus roundly enough, 'that it was free for every member of the synod to deliver his own judgment concerning any point or question; but that men ought to be very careful that they do not rashly meddle with the judgments of other churches.' The bishop then observed, that 'since all the foreign divines, without exception, and likewise all the Belgic professors, except Gomarus, had already delivered their judgments for *homo lapsus*, and that he doubted not but the provincials would determine the same, it were very fit that the synod should likewise determine so of it. Neither was it any reason, that for the particular opinion of one professor, who in this did disassent from the judgment of all the reformed churches, the synod should abstain from determination of the question. Gomarus answered, that the University of Leyden had never yet determined for *homo lapsus*; and that both Dr. Whittaker and Mr. Perkins had determined the contrary, whom he took to be such men as would not disassent from the confession of the Church of England; that the matter ought first to be discussed with argument on both sides, before any thing should be determined.' To these observations the president replied, 'that after the judgments of all the colleges were read, the synod would decree of that question what they shall think best. After the canon is conceived, it shall be read;' and then, he added, 'If you can shew that any thing contained in that canon is against the Word of God, the synod shall, with all dutiful patience, hear what you can say.'"

The divisions which were apparent in the present state of the synod, could hardly fail to encourage the hopes of the remonstrants, that they might still be able to support themselves against its powerful attacks.

Having spoken of another huge manuscript volume which they had compiled on the third, fourth and fifth articles of their confession, Balcanqual says, "Heinsius dined with us yesterday, and I asked him when they had given in this book. He told me, that morning; but with such impudence as is almost incredible; for when one of the delegates told them that he wondered why they would give in so much paper as was impossible it should ever be read in the synod, Episcopius answered, they had nothing to do with the synod; they offered it to the delegates only. The former delegate replied, that the delegates were not to judge of their opinions, but the synod; and that in their letters citatory they were warned to come and give an account to the synod of the doctrine which they had delivered in their schools and pulpits. Episcopius most impudently answered thus briefly: 'We here delivered to you, the delegates, this book, and to none else. If you be pleased to take it from us, we will leave it with you; if not, we pray you give it us again, and we will keep it.' One of the delegates commanded Heinsius to write down that, their peremptory and saucy answer. Episcopius very bravely told Heinsius, that they would save him that labour, for they had set down the same words already in their preface; and pointed out to him the place where he might find them. So that, my lord, they were never since the beginning of the synod so lusty as now; so as none can choose but think that they yet have some secret and sure hopes."*

By the 21st of March no fewer than one hundred and twenty-six sessions had been held. The opinions, however, of all the colleges on the five articles were now collected, and they presented, it is said, "an incredible harmony, far greater than almost could be hoped for in so great an assembly of so many learned men." But many apprehensions were entertained, that the framing of the canons would be attended with new difficulties. The president was suspected of a desire to secure to himself the entire management of this important business. To the foreign, and especially the English, divines this

* Balcanqual's Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 136.

presented a reasonable cause for interference. "I think," says Balcanqual, to the ambassador, "our president hath need of your lordship's good counsel for carrying himself in making the canons. I find every man murmuring already that he would make them, and doth but only dictate them to the rest."*

In another letter he says, "These three things I may say in this troublesome business: First, that the president would take upon him more than ever any president did, to make canons, and pass them by *placet* or *non placet*. And then he hath so many of the provincials at command to pass what he will, I cannot, I confess, yet see how it can consist with the dignity of any, much more of some, of the members of the synod, that the president should dictate canons, and the rest, especially a bishop, write after him; so that he maketh the canons, and the whole synod are called *non ad concilium, sed tantum consensum*." Again: "If your lordship's care do not now most of all shew itself for procuring of good counsel to be sent hither for the *constitution of the canons*, we are like to make the synod a thing to be laughed at in after ages. The president and his provincials have no care of the credit of strangers, nor of that account which we must yield at our return unto all men that shall be pleased to call for it. Their canons they would have so full charged with catechetical speculations, that they will be ready to burst. And I perceive plainly that there is not a contra-remonstrant minister in the synod that hath delivered any doctrine which hath been excepted against by the remonstrants, but they would have it in by head and shoulders in some canon, that so they might have something to shew for that which they have said."

The English divines saw the absolute necessity of their interference when some of the canons began to be put into form. This was especially the case in respect to the second article, in which it was stated, that "unbelievers will be damned, not only on account of their unbelief, but also for all their other sins, as well original as actual." The English theologians immediately ob-

* Letters from the Synod of Dort, p. 139.

jected, "that it might be inferred, from this position, that original sin was not done away by baptism; which doctrine had been condemned by more than one council as heretical." So earnestly was this objection urged, that the synod yielded, and the passage was expunged.

On the 16th of April, at the opening of the 129th session, the president congratulated the assembly that its labours were now drawing to a close. "The present session," he added, "is holden to the end that the states' commissioners may be witnesses of our unanimity. For which purpose all the members are intreated diligently to attend to the reading of every article; and to communicate their minds, in case they think there is any thing which requires to be altered or amended; and not to take it ill, if, perhaps, they should find here and there a word differing from the copies which each of them have signed, since no alteration whatsoever has been made in the sense."

The canons on the first of the five points having been read, each member of the synod was separately asked, whether he agreed thereto. Nothing could be more satisfactory than the readiness with which answers were given in the affirmative, till it came to the turn of the English to reply, when they expressed their unwillingness to subscribe any of the papers till the canons were fairly copied.* The same reserve was exhibited in

* Balcanqual's Latin Notes, p. 148. The following is given as the most important of the canons; that, namely, on the first of the five articles:—

I. Cum omnes homines in Adamo peccaverint, et rei sint facti maledictionis et mortis æternæ, Deus nemini fecisset injuriam, si universum genus humanum in peccato et maledictione relinquere, ac propter peccatum damnare voluisset, juxta illa Apostoli.—Rom., iii. 19; et Rom., vi. 23.

II. Verum in hoc manifestata est charitas Dei, quod Filium suum unigenitum in mundum misit, ut omnis qui credit in eum, non pereat, sed habeat vitam æternam.—1 Johan., iv. 9.; Johan., iii. 16.

III. Ut autem homines ad fidem adducantur, Deus clementer lætissimi hujus nuntii præcones mittit, ad quos vult et quando vult, quorum ministerio homines ad resipiscantiam, et fidem in Christum crucifixum vocantur.—Rom., x. 14, 15.

IV. Qui huic evangelio non credunt, super eos manet ira Dei. Qui vero illud recipiunt, et servatorem Jesum vera ac viva fide amplectuntur, illi per ipsum ab ira Dei et interitu liberantur, ac vita æterna donantur.

V. Incredulitatis istius, ut et omnium aliorum peccatorum, causa seu culpa neutiquam est in Deo, sed in homine. Fides autem in Jesum Christum, et solus per ipsum, est gratuitum Dei donum, sicut scriptum est.—Ephes. ii., 8. Item, Phil., i. 29.

regard to the articles on the second canon, and the question, whether God could have made use of any other propitiation or reconciliation than that of Christ, was

VI. Quod autem aliqui in tempore fide à Deo donantur, aliqui non donantur, id ab æterno ipsius decreto provenit; Act., xv. 18; Ephes., i. 11. Secundum quod decretum electorum corda, quantumvis dura, gratiose emollit, et ad credendum inflectit, non-electos autem justo judicio suæ malitiæ et duritiæ relinquit. Atque hic potissimum sese nobis aperit profunda, misericors pariter et justa, hominum æqualiter perditorum discretio; sive decretum illud *electionis et reprobationis* in verbo Dei revelatum. Quod ut perversi, impuri, et parum stabiles in suum detorquent exitium, ita sanctis et religiosis animabus ineffabile præstat solatium.

VII. Est autem electio immutabile Dei propositum, quo ante jacta mundi fundamenta è universo genere humano, ex primæva integritate in peccatum et exitium sua culpa prolapso, secundum liberrimum voluntatis suæ beneplacitum, ex mera gratia, certam quorundam hominum multitudinem, aliis nec meliorum, nec digniorum, sed in communi miseria cum aliis jacentium, ad salutem elegit in Christo, quem etiam ab æterno mediatorem et omnium electorum caput salutisque fundamentum constituit, atque ita eos ipsi salvandos dare et ad ejus communionem per verbum et Spiritum suum efficaciter vocare ac trahere, seu vera in ipsum fide donare, justificare, sanctificare, et potenter in Filii sui communione custoditos tandem glorificare decrevit, ad demonstrationem suæ misericordiæ, et laudem divitiarum gloriosæ suæ gratiæ; sicut scriptum est.—Ephes., i. 4, 5, 6. Et alibi, Rom., viii. 30.

VIII. Hæc electio non est multiplex, sed una et eadem omnium salvandorum in Vetere et Novo Testamento, quando-quidem scriptura unicum prædicat beneplacitum, propositum et consilium voluntatis Dei, quo nos ab æterno, elegit et ad gratiam, et ad gloriam, et ad salutem, et ad viam salutis, quam præparavit, ut in ea ambulemus.

IX. Eadem hæc electio facta est non est prævisa fide, fideique obedientia, sanctitate, aut alia aliqua bona qualitate et dispositione, tanquam causa seu conditione in homine eligendo prærequisita, sed ad fidem, fideique obedientiam, sanctitatem, &c. Ac proinde electio est fons omnis salutaris boni; unde fides, sanctitas et reliqua dona salvifica; ipsa denique vita æterna, ut fructus et effectus ejus proficiunt, secundum illud Apostoli. Ephes., i. 4.

X. Causa vero hujus gratuitæ electionis, est solum Dei beneplacitum, non in eo consistens, quod certas qualitates, seu actiones humanas, ex omnibus possibilibus, in salutis conditionem elegit; sed in eo, quod certas quasdam personas ex communi peccatorum multitudine sibi in peculium adscivit, sicut scriptum est. Rom., ix. 11, 12, 13; et Act., xiii. 48.

XI. Atque; ut Deus ipse est sapientissimus, immutabilis, omnisciens et omnipotens; ita electio ab ipso facta, nec interrumpi, nec mutari, revocari, aut abrumpi, nec electi abjici, nec numerus eorum minui potest.

XII. De hac æterna et immutabili sui ad salutem electione, electi suo tempore, variis licet gradibus et dispari mensura certiores redduntur, non quidem arcana et profunditates Dei curiose scrutando, sed fructus electionis infallibiles, in verbo Dei designatos, ut sunt vera in Christum fides, filialis Dei timor, dolor de peccatis secundum Deum, esuriet et sitis justitiæ, &c. in sese cum spirituali gaudio et sancta voluptate observando.

XIII. Ex hujus electionis sensu et certitudine, Filii Dei majorem indices sese coram Deo humiliandi, abyssum misericordiarum ejus adorandi, seipsos purificandi, et eum, qui ipsos prior tantopere dilexit, vicissim ardentè diligendi, materiam desumunt: tantum abest, ut hac electionis doctrina atque ejus meditatione in mandatorum divinatorum observatione segniore, aut carnaliter securi, reddantur. Quod iis justo Dei judicio solet accidere, qui de

said to have been then heard for the first time, and to be better fitted for the speculation of the schools than the inquiry of the synod.

Another occasion was given for the exercise of vigilance and acuteness on the side of the English theologians, when that part of the second canon was read, in which they were condemned who held "that the conformity of nature in Christ was not necessary to the sufficiency of the price of our redemption." The English

electionis gratia, vel temere præsumentes, vel otiose et proterve fabulantes, in viis electorum ambulare nolunt.

XIV. Ut autem hæc de divina electione doctrina, sapientissimo Dei consilio, per prophetas, Christum ipsum, atque apostolos, sub Veteri æque atque sub Novo Testamento, est prædicata, et sacrarum deinde literarum monumentis commendata; ita et hodie in Ecclesia Dei, cui ea peculiariter est destinata, cum spiritu discretionis, religiose et sancte, suo loco et tempore, missa omni curiosa viarum altissimi scrutatione, est proponenda, et idque ad sanctissimi nominis divini gloriam, et vividum populi ipsius solatium.

XV. Cæterum æternam et gratuitam hanc electionis nostri gratiam eo vel maxime illustrat, nobisque commendat Scriptura Sacra quod porro testatur, non omnes homines esse electos, sed quosdam non electos, sive in æterna Dei electione præteritos; quos, scilicet, Deus ex liberrimo, justissimo, irreprehensibili, et immutabili, beneplacito decrevit in communi miseria, in quam se sua culpa præcipitarunt, relinquere, nec salvifica fide et conversionis gratia donare, sed in viis suis et sub justo judicio, relictos, tandem non tantum propter infidelitatem; sed etiam cætera omnia peccata, ad declarationem justitiæ suæ damnare et æternum punire atque hoc est decretum *reprobationis*, quod Deum nequitiam peccati autorem (quod cogitatu blasphemum est), sed tremendum, irreprehensibilem, et justum judicem ac vindicem constituit.

XVI. Qui vivam in Christum fidem, seu certam cordis fiduciam, pacem conscientiæ, studium filialis obedientiæ, gloriationem in Deo per Christum, in se nondum efficaciter sentiunt, mediis tamen, per quæ Deus ista se in nobis operaturum promisit, utuntur, ii ad reprobationis mentionem non consternari, nec se reprobis accensere, sed in usu mediorum diligenter pergere, ac horam uberius gratiæ ardentem desiderare, et reverenter humiliterque expectare debent. Multo autem minus doctrina de reprobatione terreri debent ii, qui cum serio ad Deum converti, ei unice placere, et è corpore mortis eripi desiderant, in via tamen pietatis et fidei eousque, quo volunt, pervenire nondum possunt; siquidem linum fumigans se non extinguitur, et arundinem quassatam se non fracturum, promisit misericors Deus. Jis autem hæc doctrina merito terrori est qui Dei et servatoris Jesu Christi obliti, mundi curis, et carnis voluptatibus se totos manciparunt, quamdiu ad Deum serio non convertuntur.

XVII. Quandoquidem de voluntate Dei ex verbo ipsius nobis est judicandum, quod testatur liberos fidelium esse sanctos non quidem natura, sed beneficio fœderis gratuiti, in quo illi cum parentibus comprehenduntur, pii parentes de electione et salute suorum liberorum quos Deus in infantia ex hac vita evocat dubitare non debent.

XVIII. Adversus hanc gratuitæ electionis gratiam, et justæ reprobationis severitatem obmurmuranti opponimus hoc apostolicum. Rom., ix. 20. Et illud servatoris nostri. Matt., xx. 15. Nos vero hæc mysteria religiose adorantes, cum apostolo exclamamus. Rom., xi. 33, 34, 35, 36.

De Divina Prædestinatione. Acta Synodi, p. 279.

divines remarked, "that in case the canon was to be understood of an *absolute necessity*, such as deprived God of the power of acting otherwise, even before the establishing of any decree, we ought not rashly to restrain the infinite power of God; that the inquiry into these matters belonged only to the schools; and that, therefore, they ought not to be inserted in the synodical canons; and the rather, since some of the fathers and several of the reformed doctors were of opinion, that this conformity to our nature was not simply and absolutely necessary. But if the canon were to be understood of a *conditional necessity*, proceeding from the supposition of that decree and volition which is revealed to us in holy scripture, in which sense they thought the word *necessity* in this affair was used in the sacred writings, then they allowed the canon to be true; but that it did in no sort concern the remonstrants, who only rejected an *absolute necessity*, as appeared from their own words in the declaration or explanation which they had lately made. They therefore judged it most advisable to leave this canon out." *

The strong and harsh expressions employed in the statement of some of the doctrines furnished another reason for the interference of the English divines. Though unable to convince the synod in all respects of the wisdom of their counsel, they succeeded in obtaining a modification of some of the most objectionable positions. Among others, it had been advanced that the doctrines comprised in the canons ought to be esteemed the doctrines of the reformed churches. To have put their names to a statement of this kind would have been to commit one of the gravest offences of which the members of a church, like that of England, could be guilty. It would have been to assume the right of pledging the community to principles which they were individually satisfied to take as correct. Happily they had the wisdom to declare, "that they were deputed to the synod by their king, and not their church; that they were by no means empowered to explain the con-

* Brandt's Hist. of Reformation in the Low Countries, vol. III., b. xl., p. 277.

fession of their church, but had only delivered their own private opinions, as thinking them agreeable to truth; and that they had agreed to many things in these canons, of which there was not the least notice taken in the *Articles of the Church of England*; which they had done, because they were not sensible that any of the matters therein contained were repugnant to the said articles."

It was soon after this that the question was asked, in what form the solemn censure of the remonstrants ought to be drawn up. The answer to this inquiry was soon given, and they were described as the authors of novelties; disturbers of their country and of its churches; as obstinate and disobedient; promoters of faction and preachers of error; as guilty, and convicted of corrupting religion; of schism, or dissolving the unity of the Church, and of having given very grievous scandal and offence; to which it was added, that they were therefore deprived of all ecclesiastical and academical offices.

When the opinions of the several members of the synod were asked as to the fitness of such a form of sentence, the English divines observed, 'that the doctrine of the Netherland churches, as established in the synod, was the same with that of their own church; and that they, being called upon, had accordingly signified their opinions concerning it. But, forasmuch as the persons who had maintained the contrary doctrines were burghers or inhabitants of the *Low Countries*, they would not, in any sort, pass a personal censure upon them, they being subjects of another prince or state; and, consequently, they referred it entirely to the Dutch themselves to pass what judgment they pleased against the ministers of their own provinces.'*

It was accordingly left to the Belgic theologians to determine in what way sentence should be pronounced upon the remonstrants. But there was still a necessity for constant vigilance. The members of the synod generally would evidently have been contented with any expression of their sentiments, however rude and indefinite, so that it did but show sufficient hostility to

* Balcanqual's Latin Notes, p. 154.

Arminianism, universal redemption and free-will. To English churchmen, on the contrary, propriety and exactness seemed essential, as well for the preservation of their own credit, as for the dignity of the synod. It was said, that the canons were conformable to the doctrines of all *the reformed churches*. But it was well known that they differed widely from the Lutheran confession. The English divines objected, therefore, that, if the expression referred to were retained, the Lutheran churches would seem to be excluded from the number of those entitled to be called *reformed*. Polyander and Scultetus both replied, that the Lutherans themselves rejected that appellation, and considered the name of *reformed* as a term of reproach. The president also observed, that the churches of the Low Countries were accustomed to distinguish themselves by the title of *reformed*, not only from the papists, but also from the Lutherans. It was answered by the English divines, that, in their church, the Lutherans were esteemed reformed, as having been the first who began the reformation of religion; and that they had been instructed by their king to take care, as far as possible, that no injury should be offered to those of that communion.*

Nor was it only on single points of this kind that our countrymen found it necessary to oppose the majority of the synod. The temper which characterized its conclusions, as well as its proceedings, was adverse to their feelings; and one of their number plainly says, "Methinks it is hard that every man should be deposed from his ministry, who will not hold every particular. Never did any church of old, nor any reformed church, propose so many articles to be held, *sub pœna excommunicationis*. But had it not then been cruel, if all had gone for canons, which they would have had gone; for example, that of an absolute necessity, of similitude of nature, for working our redemption?"†

An artifice it would seem was employed to secure the main object of the synod,—the formal condemnation of

* They are so eager to kill the remonstrants that they would make their words have that sense which no grammar can find in them.—Balcanqual's Letters, p. 144.

† Brandt's Hist. of Reform., vol. III., p. 282; Letters, p. 146.

the remonstrants. Properly, the sentence against them ought to have been signed by the members at large. It was, however, signed by the two secretaries only. The reason given for this proceeding is, that it was well known that the deputies of England, Hesse and Bremen could never be induced to subscribe a sentence to which they had refused their assent, and that if the sentence had been published with the names of those only who admitted its justice, it would have been immediately seen how much disagreement existed on the subject. Even among those of the foreign theologians who did agree to the sentence, several, it is said, were found, who openly lamented the part they had taken. "The remonstrants have been wronged," they exclaimed. "They ought not to have been thus treated. We have been deceived by the president and his adherents, who, whenever they pleased, made a synod among themselves, and there concerted what points they were resolved to carry." Another observed, "Now, I believe what Nazianzen said; namely, that he had never seen any council which ended happily or successfully: no, nor one which did not rather augment, than lessen or remove, the evil: and I declare, as he did, that I will never set my foot again in any synod. Dort! Dort! would to God, I had never seen thee!" These words were ascribed to Martinus, who is also further reported to have said, "The synod is nothing more than a political comedy; in which statesmen act the chief parts."*

In the 145th session the synod was called upon to declare its sentiments on the subject of the confession. The English divines expressed themselves satisfied with the doctrine of this formulary; but, in reference to those parts in which mention was made of church government, they observed, that though they would not offer any opinion on the articles themselves, they could not but declare that the government of their own church was according to the primitive and apostolic rule. The bishop of Landaff spoke strongly and decidedly on the subject. "That Christ instituted an equality among the

* Brandt's History of the Reformation in the Low Countries, vol. III., b. xi., p. 283.

ministers of the gospel, I openly protested," says he, "was a strange proposition. I publicly declared that I could not approve of this proposition, and maintained that it could no where be shewn that Christ had ordained such an equality."

The observations of the bishop appear to have been received with respectful attention, and when he proceeded to declare, that all the troubles which had taken place in Holland might be attributed to the want of bishops, who by their power and authority would have restrained factious and seditious spirits, their answer was, that they highly valued the good order and discipline of the Church of England, and that they wished with all their hearts that the same order existed among themselves. But this, they added, was not to be hoped for yet. All they could do was to pray that God would assist them by his grace and favour, and to resolve, that nothing in their own power to effect should be left undone to secure such a blessing.*

Thankful for the uniformity of opinion which existed on the subject of the confession, the clergy of the Netherlands solemnly proclaimed their determination to cherish it as the constant rule of their faith and practice, and scrupulously to adhere to its doctrines in their preaching; entreating at the same time the states' commissioners to use their influence, that every thing might be done to defend and promote by authority this pure and orthodox creed, and to preserve it inviolate in the Belgic churches. The Heidelberg catechism was received with like favour. Both the native clergy and the foreign divines agreed in declaring that the doctrines it contained were in all things agreeable to the Word of God; that it was composed with great piety and caution, and fitted to instruct persons of maturer years, as well as the young; on which account it ought by all means to be retained and employed by the clergy as an authorized manual of instruction.†

* Brandt, vol. III., p. 288.

† The English divines, during the discussion on the catechism, insisted on being allowed to explain the article of Christ's Descent into Hell, "in a manner different from that of other churches, since they did not understand by it that he underwent the torments of hell at his passion, particularly on the cross."—Brandt, vol. III., b. XI., p. 200.

On the morning of the 6th of May, the members of the synod, having opened the 153d session, proceeded in state, accompanied by a vast concourse of people, to the great church of Dort. At the stadthouse they were joined by the magistrates; and, on entering the church, the president, Bogermann, immediately ascended the pulpit, and commenced the service of the day with a Latin prayer, which lasted half an hour. At the conclusion of the prayer, the secretary, Sebastian Damman, ascended the pulpit, and read, till his voice failed, first, the introduction to the canons, and then a portion of the canons themselves. He was succeeded by the other secretary, Festus Hommius; and lastly, the sentence against the remonstrants was read, and the certificate presented which the states' commissioners had given to confirm the proceedings.

At the next session, held three days after the above, the foreign divines received their dismissal, and with expressions of respect and gratitude on the part of the president and members of the synod, which proved sufficiently how important their co-operation was considered to the dignity and success of the assembly. "Next to that great work of the Reformation in the last age," said Bogermann, in his parting speech, "is this great mercy which the churches of these provinces have received at the hand of the Lord, and which they now thankfully acknowledge and celebrate, of which we have had a manifest proof, and the greatest and most comfortable experience in this synod: a work truly miraculous, which causes hell to tremble, and amazes both our friends and enemies, neither of whom expected to have seen such an end of our misfortunes and miseries. For if we but reflect as we ought upon the beginning, the increase, the secret approaches, and all the circumstances of these troubles, which have plagued us for so many years; if we consider the remedies which have been so often, but in vain, applied; if we turn our thoughts upon this synod, which has been for so many years desired, refused, deferred, and at last obtained beyond all human expectations, and only by the help of him who finds and strikes out paths where none were to be found; finally, if we rightly and seriously reflect

upon the beginning of this synod, such a synod as no man durst have flattered himself he should ever have seen in these our Netherlands; upon the progress, the labours, the cares, the troubles, and, above all, the most desirable issue of this synod, which we now behold, and which the assemblies of the saints hear of from day to day, with incredible joy; if, I say, we seriously consider all these matters, we shall be easily persuaded to believe that it is the finger of God. In truth, our Netherlands moon, emerging and ascending from this thick darkness of misery, and having, as it were, received a new light from her sun, shines out now in spite of hell, and shall henceforward shine out with greater lustre.”*

Having thus spoken, and acknowledged the blessing which had attended the counsels of the foreign divines, he prayed, “that they who were about to suffer a bodily separation from each other might ever, to their last breath, continue united in mind and spirit; in their studies, in their ministry, and in a holy and universal agreement in those truths which the synod had asserted and declared to be conformable to the Word of God; and lastly, in love and charity, and mutual prayers and desires, till being all of them at length translated to the heavenly synod, they should enjoy eternal rest and glory, and without any further separation, for ever continue with the Lord.” Certain gravamina, and some matters concerning discipline, still remained to be arranged, but they were left to the judgment of the Belgic clergy, who brought the whole to a conclusion on the 29th of May, when the assembly finally broke up.

Thus ended the synod of Dort. Opinions of the most opposite kind have been expressed respecting its proceedings. On one side, it was said, that the equity of the fathers of the synod of Dort was such, that no instance could be given of any other synod, since the death of the apostles, in which the cited heretics were heard with greater patience, or which proceeded with a better temper, or judged with more sanctity. This was the opinion of Jacobus Capellus, professor of divinity at

* Brandt, Hist. of Reform., vol. III., b. xli., p. 305.

Sedan. Peter du Moulin said, "That for several ages there had not been a more famous, a more holy, or a more beneficial synod for the Church than this of Dort; and that the remonstrants were so disheartened and confounded at the bare sight of that venerable assembly, that whereas before their meeting they were all on fire for an engagement, and appeared so earnest in challenging out their adversaries, they then, on the contrary, began to quit the field, to shun the light, and seek a place of retreat, whether it were through fear of being foiled, or for want of a good conscience." On the other hand, the son of Du Moulin says, "I shall make no scruple in affirming, that the fathers of the synod of Dort were not impartial, as the judges in all courts ought to be; but were both judges and parties, or favourers of one side, and, consequently, the Arminians could not but lose their cause before such a tribunal, not because they were in the wrong, but because they were the weakest; and doubtless those fathers would have triumphed over them in these circumstances, though the truth had been on their side."* Heylyn says, that the synod of Dort was much like that of Trent, both in the motives which led to it, and in the management of its proceedings. "For as neither of them was assembled till the sword was drawn, the terror whereof was able to effect more than all other arguments, so neither of them was concerned to confute, but condemn, their opposites."†

The language here employed to describe the character of the synod was plainly, for the most part, dictated by a party feeling as strong as any that governed the assembly itself. While we ascribe, therefore, no slight degree of improper influence to the political connections of the contra-remonstrants, we must be careful not to forget the circumstances more favourable to the credit and authority of the synod. In the first place, we must remember, that it consisted of a large body of clergy, only a few of which can be suspected of having any other wish than that of preserving their church from the evils of schism. Gomarus, Bogermann, Sibrandus,

* Brandt, *Hist. of Reform.*, vol. III., b. xli., p. 307.

† *Quinquarticular History*, part I., c. v., p. 529.

and two or three more, might be stimulated to violence and injustice by a blind zeal, or personal ambition; but whatever their influence in the synod, it can never be imagined that they were sufficient to control, not only a vast number of their brethren, men of staid character, great learning and experience, but also the numerous foreign theologians who took part in the discussions. Yet, with few exceptions, one common opinion prevailed on the important subjects debated in the assembly; and the articles finally drawn up, together with the authorized formularies before in existence, were acknowledged by the whole body as standards of orthodoxy. In the next place, a careful examination of all that was said by the remonstrants leaves the mind very doubtful as to the opinion which ought to be formed of their conduct. The objections which they urged, when called upon to declare their doctrines, were sometimes of a character which men in earnest are rarely found to employ. Though denied the liberty which it seemed fair to demand, they had, notwithstanding, sufficient opportunities to explain their views, and state the main arguments upon which their truth and scriptural character were supposed to rest. Had they accepted these opportunities, had they openly pleaded their cause as far as they were allowed, the principles which they advocated must have been weak, indeed, had they not won the favour of some portion of the synod. Their insisting upon a sort of technical right to this or that privilege was not consistent with the feelings usually inspired by deep and fervent convictions. Men under such impressions rarely wait for the best season for defending themselves against false accusers. It is generally their misfortune to act and speak with a precipitation fatal to their safety. Whatever, therefore, may be the view taken of the truth or error involved in the doctrine of the remonstrants, their perpetual refusals to obey the challenge of the synod must give no slight advantage to the latter when both are submitted to cautious criticism. Taking the whole of the proceedings into consideration, there seems but little reason for doubting that the decisions of the synod were the direct and honest conclusions to which the

majority of the Netherland clergy would have arrived, under whatever circumstances they had been called upon to state their sentiments. The agreement of the foreign divines added considerably to the authority of the assembly, as far as the expression of opinion was concerned. What they had to do in a Dutch national council, or how the dignitaries of an episcopal church could consistently form part of a synod, with a presbyterian minister for its president, and presbyterians only for its members, are difficult questions; but being there, and after much cautious deliberation giving their votes in favour of its general conclusions, it is but fair to believe, that they saw enough of the proceedings to believe that, on the whole, they were conducted in a spirit of truth and righteousness.

No mercy was shown the remonstrants. Their most powerful friend, the counsellor Oldenbarnevelt, was beheaded at the Hague a few days after the breaking up of the synod. Hogerbeets and Grotius were about the same time condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the castle of Lovestein; and the dead body of Giles van Ledenberg was put into a chest and carried on a sledge to the gibbet, where it was left hanging till secretly removed by a friend.

Episcopius and his colleagues, at the breaking up of the synod, were detained under arrest at Dort. During their confinement they earnestly desired to be allowed a sight of the canons. This was refused them; and they were obliged to wait patiently till summoned to appear at the Hague before the states general. On their presenting themselves to the magistrates, it was asked whether they were willing to live thenceforward as private subjects, without exercising any ecclesiastical function, either publicly or privately, and to sign an instrument containing a declaration to that purport. One of the party* immediately put his signature to the paper. The rest, to the number of thirteen, replied, that they were sufficiently disposed to

* Henricus Leo. He was a few days after summoned to appear alone before the states. Permission was given him to go wherever he chose, and he received fifty guilders for the expenses of his journey.—Brandt, vol. iii., p. 346.

forbear all exercise of their ministerial function in the public churches, but that their consciences would not allow them to subscribe any such instrument; that they could not refuse the communication of their gifts to the assemblies of their persuasion, who might request it of them, when not in the public churches; that no private Christian, much less pastors or ministers, could refuse such a request; that to do so, would be in many respects contrary to holy scripture, contrary to the substance of the Netherland confession, contrary to the catechism, contrary to the form of confirming ministers, and, lastly, contrary to the ecclesiastical constitution till then observed. Poppius, in his answer to the magistrates, said, "I cannot promise to be silent. The examples of the saints in the Old and New Testaments stir me up to imitate them. My deprivation by the synod cannot make void my *call*. Our reformed doctors themselves maintain, that though Luther was deposed by the papists, yet his *call* still remained in force; and, consequently, though the synod cast me out of their brotherhood, my *call* still continues." Again: "They tell me I ought not on this account to separate from the *reformed* church; to which I answer, that we do not separate ourselves, but it is the synod which has cast us out of the church, and will not suffer us to continue in her communion. They have condemned our doctrines as false, and have resolved to own none for ministers among them but such as will subscribe to their opinions, and teach them to others. This we cannot do. We are content to be stripped of the name of *reformed*; give us some other title, and consider us as a sect."*

Sentence of deposition was now formally pronounced by the magistrates, and it was added, that the persons so deposed "should be brought and conducted by certain messengers out of all the united provinces, and the jurisdiction thereof, without ever being allowed to come or return thither, till the said states shall be fully convinced and satisfied that they are ready and willing to subscribe the said act." Episcopus, at the conclusion of the sentence, addressed the states in the name of his

* Brandt, vol. III., b. xlii., p. 344.

party as well as for himself. "Unjustly are we charged," he said, "with disobeying the decrees of the synod and the resolutions of your high mightinesses; for, before those decrees were made, we acquainted the synod that we could not comply with them. We likewise presented our reasons in writing why we made it a scruple of conscience, and desired the synod to give us satisfaction thereon, but it was refused. As long as those reasons remained unanswered and in full force, it was not possible for us to act otherwise than we have done without involving ourselves in the greatest guilt. We hoped some endeavours would have been used for the better information, satisfaction and repose of our consciences, but in vain. The desired satisfaction was not once offered, but we were told your lordships did not wish to enter into disputation with us, so that we could not do any otherwise than we have done. In all these matters, therefore, we have acted with a good conscience, as in the presence of the Lord. It seems very strange to us that we should be banished out of the land, and forbidden ever to return; and it is the more surprising to us, because we are not conscious that we have deserved such treatment, for we were called to a free synod, and we were frequently promised a safe conduct, and that none of us should suffer in the least on account of the defence of his cause. This we depended upon; but, on the contrary, we have not only been obliged to absent ourselves these eight months from our families, but, moreover, find ourselves driven out of our country, because we refuse to do what we think inconsistent with a good conscience."

At the conclusion of his speech, Episcopus and his companions were ordered to withdraw. Soon after they received a message, purporting, that, having stated what place of exile they severally chose, they would be conveyed thither forthwith. Astonishment and grief were expressed by the remonstrants when this message was announced. Two of their number immediately sought an interview with the magistrates, and represented to them the disorder in which the affairs of the exiles would be left, and the misery that must over-

whelm their families if they were not allowed to return home for a time, and prepare, to the best of their ability, for the melancholy change in their condition. No attention was given to this request. They were again asked, whither they wished to be conveyed. As the day was drawing to a close, they replied, that, if they must needs commence their journey that very night, they knew not whither to go, and resigned themselves entirely to the disposal of their guards. After some time they were allowed to retire to their own lodgings, on giving a solemn promise that they would be prepared by four o'clock the next morning to proceed on their route. Soon after the appointed time the messenger arrived to urge their immediate departure. They then named the places which they had chosen for their future home, eleven desiring to be taken to Walwick, in Brabant. The morning was far advanced before the carriages could be prepared for their conveyance. In the meanwhile, many of the people who sympathized with them surrounded the house in which they lodged, and uttered aloud their lamentations, seeing the troubles to which they were exposed. But the greater number of the populace levelled against them volleys of abuse. A similar treatment awaited them in the several towns through which they passed on their journey; and it was not till they arrived at the places of their destination that the mingled sounds of pity and insult ceased to be heard.

The triumph of the contra-remonstrants seemed complete. But it was soon discovered that the opinions of the defeated party had been diffused to a far greater extent than was supposed. In almost every town and village some of the inhabitants were found anxiously desiring the return of the remonstrant ministers, and eagerly gathering round any preacher who might be bold enough to speak of the prohibited doctrines. Instances of cruel oppression, and of corresponding fortitude and devotion, attended this struggle. Our space will not allow us to pursue the history of Arminianism with the particularity which it deserves. Most of the remonstrant exiles sought after some few years a refuge under Duke Frederic IV., in the duchy of Schleswig. Protected

and encouraged by that amiable prince, they were enabled to found a city, which, in honour of their patron, they named Fredrichstadt. Episcopius, in the meantime, prepared a summary of doctrine, exhibiting the main tenets of his brethren, and intended as a general guide for its ministers. After enduring various difficulties, and seeing many of their party immured in prisons, and some led to the scaffold as victims of political strife, the remonstrants gradually obtained the toleration of their doctrines in Holland itself. In the year 1630, the enmity against them had so far yielded to time, and, perhaps, a better understanding of their real sentiments, that they were allowed to build for themselves a church at Amsterdam. Their affairs still continuing to improve, a college was established by them in the same city; and in 1634 their active and accomplished leader, Episcopius, was appointed the first theological professor.*

From this period Arminianism took its place with a bold front among the systems in which mankind have loved to exhibit their several developments of divine truth. Its name has been often assigned as a term of reproach to individuals, and even churches, whenever the Calvinistic view of election appeared wanting of support. In England it was long regarded as the twin sister of Romanism. Unhappily, for the credit of its early supporters, themselves holy and sincere, it became connected in the process of time with principles as prejudicial to the interests of Christianity itself, as they were opposed to the stern, awful views of the system in hostility to which it originally arose. Its influence on the state of religion generally has been greater than almost any other system formed by controversy. In so far, indeed, as it consists of truths plainly drawn from scripture, to speak of it as a peculiar form of belief may scarcely be allowed. Yet so easily distinguished are the tone and expressions of one system from another, though both professedly founded on the Word of God, that Arminianism, Calvinism, and the like, can never be submitted to careful analysis without its being discovered, that, though every particle and element be divine, the sub-

* Bayle, Art. Epis.

stratum, the supporting or connecting principle, is human. Independent, then, of those doctrines which it embodies, as a necessary portion of Christian theology, Arminianism has ever had a character of its own sufficiently bold and striking to make many converts, and to impress them with the broader lines of its character. During its progress from one country to another it has become connected with a variety of systems; and, like Calvinism, it has often been regarded as the source of opinions as old as any of the representations made by the first commentators on Christian doctrine. The church in this country was early a sufferer from the notion that its rulers had embraced it in opposition to the rival system. It has not been free from disturbance in later times from a similar cause; nor can there be any security against such evils, while the minds of men are more anxious about mysteries that stimulate speculation, than disposed to rest in awe, thankfulness and love, where faith has placed them.

CHAP. VIII.

JANSENISM—PORT ROYAL AND ITS SUPPORTERS—THEIR STRUGGLES—PROGRESS AND ISSUE OF THE CONTROVERSY.

THE controversy which we have just been reviewing brought into full light almost all that lay concealed in men's thoughts on the subject of divine decrees. In this respect its results were equally remarkable and important. Another development of deep convictions, of convictions which the state of the world and of churches long hindered from finding their fit channel of expression, is exhibited in the history of Jansenism. The name of this peculiar form of religious sentiment was derived from Cornelius Jansenius, or Jansen, born in a village near Leerdam, in Holland, in the year 1585.* After receiving the early part of his education at Utrecht, he proceeded to Louvain, where he commenced the study of Augustine under Jacob Janson, and imbibed those feelings which gave so striking a character to all his future labours. At Louvain, also, he formed an intimacy with John du Verger de Hauranne, afterwards the celebrated abbot of St. Cyran, and soon acquired a general reputation for great powers of mind and devoted piety. During the early period of his residence in the university, he was placed under the jesuit teachers, then the most powerful body in Louvain. It is said that he applied to be admitted as a member of the order, but was rejected, and that thence arose his strong and settled enmity to the society. However this may be, the instructions of Janson, and his learned associate, Michael Bajus, in the system of Augustine, took complete possession of his mind. He entered with

* The village of Accoy. It was commonly stated that he was born in Leerdam.—*Synopsis Vitæ*; *Leydekkeri Hist. Jansenismi*, p. 2.

inconceivable delight into the several accounts given of the father, and then sought in the writings of Augustine himself for a verification of the noble sentiments which the mere outline of his system had suggested.

Having gone through the usual course at Louvain, and finding his health failing, Jansenius took up his residence in Paris. St. Cyran was still his constant companion; and through his acquaintance with many of the higher classes in the capital, Jansenius became known among those who had ample means of promoting his fortunes. After spending some time in Paris, he obtained, through the influence of St. Cyran, an appointment in the college at Bayonne. Here they both applied themselves with greater earnestness than ever to the study of the fathers; and Jansenius was in the habit of saying, that till this period he had read the precious records of the Church but with blind eyes. St. Cyran in the meantime was promoted to the abbey whence he derived his name, and Jansenius, distressed at the loss of his companion, returned to Holland. Louvain again became his home; and at the head of a small college he began the teaching of philosophy. With this, however, he soon grew disgusted, and he finally devoted himself to the study of theology. In this faculty he took the degree of doctor in 1617, and was subsequently appointed professor to the university, with the express understanding that he should employ a large portion of his time in the explanation of scripture.

It was now that the peculiarities of his system began to exhibit themselves. The scholastic rules of interpretation had hitherto confined even the most active and devout minds to a cold repetition of niceties. By such a mode of study the gospel might be measured in breadth and length, but never in depth and height. Jansenius felt that he had an infinitely better guide in Augustine than in the whole of the schoolmen.* He

* Statimque advertit, ut fatebatur, plurimos scholasticos in materia illa capitali de gratia et libero arbitrio, longè abire à sanctissimi doctoris mente. Patres cæteros utiles esse, sed Augustinum necessarium, imò unum pro omni materia theologica sufficere aiebat. Ubertatem enim ejus et sæcundum illud pectus cum stupore admirabatur, et unde ei, statim etiam à conversione ante studium theologicum, abundantia illa rerum divinarum,

began also to discover that many of the worst errors of his age, both religious and literary, might be traced to a want of that wisdom with which he was daily nourished in the study of evangelical truth. St. Cyran, to his great joy, visited him at this time, and their correspondence thenceforth contributed greatly to hasten the development of their common system. An agreement was entered into between them, whereby Jansenius pledged himself to write a work on the doctrine of the Church, while St. Cyran should compose one on its constitution. This design was formed under trying instances. Though few of the doctors of Louvain, or any other catholic university, would have ventured to speak slightly of the authority of Augustine, the spiritual tone of his language had long ceased to find an echo in the hearts of either students or teachers. But there was a more fruitful source of danger to Jansenius and St. Cyran in the suspicions which attended every approximation to the doctrines of the reformed or Lutheran churches. The theology which had of late been prevalent in the schools with which they were conversant, owned but as an inferior element, the powerful, vitalizing influence of divine grace. Merit, whether original or derived, whether traced to the child of God himself, or contemplated as imputed to him in the ways of mysterious mercy, refuses to take its place in the same rank with the humble and self-abasing virtues which, though peculiarly belonging to the heart, will own no one good but God. The sentiments which Jansenius and his friend cherished have been described as a species of catholic puritanism.* That they even savoured of the divinity of the reformed churches was sufficient to render them odious in the eyes of jesuits and their associates. This, it is worthy of observation, caused many of the distresses which wise and pious men in the Church of Rome had especially at this period to endure. They were not adverse to truth, but they turned with abhorrence from schism and sectaries. It was not a

quæ in primos ejus libros manaverunt. . . . Breviter, post Deum et Sacram Scripturam, omnia ei erat Augustinus.—*Synopsis Vitæ*.

* Reuchlin. *Geschichte von Port Royal*, b. I., s. 320.

doctrine of the gospel which they refused to acknowledge, but a demand made upon their attention by bold opponents of their church.

Jansenius and his friend pursued their labours with constantly increasing fervour. The former complained that the days were too short to allow of his accomplishing half that he had in view.* “Would that I could follow the cranes,” he used to say, “and migrate to lands where the days are nineteen or twenty hours long; or that I had lived in the times of Joshua!” But there were obstacles to his success worse than those arising from want of time. The state of the court of Rome prevented him from cherishing any hope of immediate success; and his only consolation was, that, as he believed he was labouring in the cause of God, his exertions could not be finally or altogether lost. During a journey to Madrid, which some affairs connected with the university obliged him to make, he became more and more convinced of the suspicion which was likely to attend the publication of his sentiments. Even from the little then known of his views, he incurred the danger of being carried before the Inquisition;† and on his return to Louvain, the account of what had occurred made it evident to his associates, that it was only by the closest and most earnest union of their forces they could support themselves against their adversaries. The fathers of the Oratorium were, through the patronage and influence of St. Cyran, become closely leagued with them in the prosecution of their designs. Political convulsions created an opportunity for Jansenius to show his ability and zeal in favour of the Spanish government. His work, entitled, *Mars Gallicus*,‡ was regarded by

* He always began his studies at four in the morning, sometimes earlier, preparing himself by meditation against all temptations. These he repented in the evening, and, indeed, the whole day was spent in the study of divine things.—Synopsis Vitæ.

† They write to me from Spain, that the Inquisition has been set on against a doctor of Louvain, who had been in that kingdom, and that they have applied themselves to a doctor of Salamanca, in whose house he lodged, who is the first doctor of that university, called Basil de Leon, to take information against him as an Hollander, and consequently an heretic; but he answered them so much to the advantage of this doctor, as to put them out of countenance.—Bayle, Art. Jansenius.

‡ It was published under the following title: “Alexandri Patricii Arma-

Spain as rendering important assistance to its cause ; and so strongly did this sentiment continue to be encouraged, that Jansenius was appointed to fill the vacant bishopric of Ypres. A new sphere of exertion was thus opened to him, and he lost no time in commencing such reforms as he deemed necessary to the well-being of his diocese. In the midst of his numerous labours his strength began to decline, and in the month of May 1638 he breathed his last.

The life of this remarkable man had been devoted to the study and diffusion of the doctrine of grace, as exhibited in the writings of St. Augustine. Voluminous as are the works of that father, Jansenius was accustomed to boast that he had read them through ten times, and those portions of them which treat of the errors of pelagianism, thirty times.* In his lectures and sermons he taught, that it was not by acuteness of intellect that the sense of scripture could be discovered, but through the power of love, which enlightens and spiritualizes the whole man. His great work, entitled, *Augustine*, occupied him during the best twenty years of his life. Pelagianism was with him not an old and bygone error, but the still rampant heresy of more than half the Church. The fathers, though known and read, did not furnish the necessary remedy for this disease, because studied in a wrong temper. When he first perused his favourite author, the meaning which he attached to those pages, so full as he afterwards found of wisdom and beauty, was low and worldly. At the second reading

cani Theologi, Mars Gallicus, seu de justitia armorum et fœderum Regis Gallie, libri duo." It contains, says Bayle, the most malicious and odious outcries against the continual services which France did to the protestants of Holland and Germany, to the great prejudice of the catholic religion. In a work ascribed to Father Annat, or Vavas seur, Jansenius is taxed with ingratitude towards France, which had by its pure and good air restored him to health, which he could not obtain from the gross and thick air of his own country ; which had in his necessity given a livelihood to him, both as a domestic preceptor in Paris, and a master of a public school at Bayonne, which by an acquaintance with illustrious and learned men had formed his mind to greater things, and added strength to his interest. Nay, in France, which no doubt he regarded as a benefit, he got a large quantity of Calvinistical books, from which fountains he drew his interpretation of St. Augustine, and found men not averse to the doctrine of Calvin, with whom he had more free conferences concerning grace.—Art. Jansenius.

* Synopsis Vitæ.

new light sprung from them ; and as he continued his labours, the conviction strengthened, that if ever the Church was brought back to the state in which pious minds would wish to see it, the cold and scholastic theology hitherto cultivated must yield entirely to the nobler teaching of the Spirit.*

Jansenius begins his work with a long account of pelagianism. It has been observed, however, that the materials for this account were, most of them, drawn from the writings of Augustine and Prosper, the declared enemies of Pelagius, and that the work, therefore, has little pretension to the character of critical or impartial. In his second book the author treats "concerning reason and authority in theology, of the limits of human reason in that study, and of the authority of Augustine on the mystery of predestination and grace." According to the views exhibited under these heads, the understanding can take no part in such inquiries. It is to philosophy that the guilt pertains of having made heavenly grace obedient to the summons of human freedom. Thus, philosophy is the mother of heresy. The understanding may minister to her commands ; but theology must be served by memory alone ; that is, it must rest contented with what is taught by

* It is interesting to trace, by the letters of Jansenius, the progress of these convictions. "I have much to say to you," he observes, in a letter to St. Cyran, in October 1620, "on certain subjects belonging to our profession, and which are of no slight importance, particularly on St. Augustine, whom I seem to have read without eyes, and to have heard without ears. If the principles be true which are now opened to me, and as I believe they are to this hour in which I am reperusing St. Augustine, they will, by-and-by, astonish all the world." Letters, p. 27. In another, sent the next day, he says, "I employ the time which remains after my lecture on Scripture in the study of St. Augustine, whom I love entirely, for it seems to me that there is nothing, whether among the antients or the moderns, that can approach him within a hundred leagues, and the more I read him, the more glorious does he appear." p. 29. Again, about six months afterwards, he writes, "I continue to pursue my labours, begun a year and a half, or two years ago, on St. Augustine, whom I read with a strange desire, and, as I believe, advantage. I have come to the seventh volume, and have read the more important parts two or three times. I have, however, made no marks, it being my intention to read and re-read him all my life long. It is impossible to describe how my opinions have changed, and what a different judgment I now pass on him and others to what I formerly did. I am astonished more and more every day at the height and depth of his mind, and that his doctrine should have been so little known among the learned, not only of this age, but past centuries." *Lettres de M. Jansenius*, ed. par F. du Vivier, p. 31.

Christ and his apostles. Christianity is not to be deduced from principles in the way of philosophical argument, but must simply be impressed upon the heart. It is perilous in divine mysteries to work through the understanding; love only is properly engaged in such a study. To the neglect of this consideration are traced the numerous errors which disfigure the writings of the schoolmen; and the Aristotelian philosophy is broadly charged with the whole guilt of introducing pelagianism and semi-pelagianism into the Church. Augustine, on the other hand, established four main truths in opposition to so many of the most grievous errors. These important principles are, the oneness of the head of the Church, that is, Christ; the oneness of his body, that is, the Church; the oneness of the sacrament of incorporation, that is, baptism; and the oneness and truth of the life or grace procured through the cross of Christ. Jansenius represents Augustine as treating the last-mentioned subject in the manner of St. Paul, as only second to him, as unanswerable, angelical, seraphic.

In the next section, the author speaks of human nature in its pure and sinless state, or of the grace enjoyed by the first man, and by angels. This is followed by reflections on the state of fallen nature, on original sin, on its conflicts, and on the degree of strength enjoyed by free-will after the fall. To this succeeds an explanation of the doctrine of Augustine on the medicinal or healing grace of Christ, and on the predestination of men and angels. This is considered to be the most laboured part of the work. Not only are the opinions of Augustine exhibited with a fulness and caution proportionable to their value, but the objections urged against them, whether in antient or modern times, are submitted to an examination, calling forth all the powers of the author's mind.

St. Paul and Augustine are to him, "the matrix and fountain, whence all conclusions concerning grace are to be deduced." For, in the ways of providence, he argues, "whatsoever by the measures of places and times is evolved and unfolded in corporeal things;

whatsoever in spiritual things is collected by argumentation, was originally gathered up, and concentrated in certain general principles. Thus the seed contains the whole tree which is subsequently expanded in branches and foliage. So the Lord Christ originally embraced in a certain glorious unity whatsoever graces he has poured forth into the body of the Universal Church. Thus the apostle Paul, snatched up into the third heaven, contained in himself, as an abyss and source of fountains, all that has been since furnished on the subject of grace and predestination by the disputations and inquiries of doctors, and did present the results of the whole in certain brief statements of his epistles. But because it is a work of no slight difficulty, or genius, to unfold and exhibit to the understanding those heavenly mysteries involved in some few characters, what can we think but that the divine and stupendous genius of Augustine, so exalted in splendour, so lowly in humility, was divinely elected, in order that, like a new beginning and perennial fountain, it might pour forth richly the intelligence of the profoundest mystery; that it might educe whatever was laid up in St. Paul concerning the corruption of human nature, divine grace, predestination, and that in the way of first principles; that whatever is impervious to us it might penetrate; and lastly, that, by an eminent perfection of doctrine, it might comprehend whatever is fitted to satisfy men's thirst for knowledge; to resolve their doubts; to answer their questionings; and to beat down the arguments of the adversary."*

Jansenius neither denied the difficulty of the subject upon which he was engaged, nor attempted to conceal the fact that Augustine occasionally presents an appearance of inconsistency. "It does not unfrequently occur," he says, "that things separated from the immutable principles on which they depend involve a seeming absurdity; but brought back to the hidden springs whence they arise, the truth irradiating them from above, they become evidently worthy of all acceptance." Speaking of the character of him who may hope to enter into the profound excellencies of Augustine, he

* Augustinus, t. II., c. xxvii., p. 59. Lovan. 1640.

says that no one, without a miracle, could understand him at a single reading ; and that much less can they enter into his meaning who read only extracts from his works, or consult the works themselves for no other purpose than that of discovering passages which may support their own opinions ; but farthest of all from comprehending his doctrine are they supposed to be who approach the study with minds pre-occupied by the Aristotelian philosophy, or the notions of the later schoolmen.

It is at the conclusion of this *proœmial* book that he enters upon that mode of reasoning which so soon rendered his system odious in the eyes of Rome. "Will it be answered me," he says, "that the opinions of the schoolmen, which here seem to be reprobated by Augustine, have now been common for the last five hundred years to almost the whole Church, which, if they be wrong, is thereby proved to be itself in error ?* I reply, that if it be a question of time, the opinions of Augustine and his disciples were acknowledged and approved by the Church, and the common consent of Christians, many hundred years before the notions of the schoolmen were introduced. If, therefore, it should be feared that the Church might be accused of error in receiving opinions afterwards disproved, by how much more perniciously would it be said to have erred if it should abolish the doctrine of Augustine, received and approved through so many ages ?" He next shows that the members of the Church might have adopted many opinions not strictly correct, without injuring the orthodoxy of the Church itself. "It is one thing," he says, "to believe with a catholic faith, another to think according to human opinion. The schoolmen, who held notions opposed to Augustine, did few or none of them hand them down as part of the catholic faith, but simply as notions of their own, and which they were willing to resign or correct should they ever be pronounced heretical by the testimony of the scriptures, by councils, or the Roman pontiff. Whence we conclude that neither was the Church universal debased by error, nor any

* Augustinus, t. II., c. xxx., p. 65.

part of it diverted from the faith." But again, "If not a little, but the greater part of the Church should be ignorant of, or hesitate as to, the true opinion on some obscure question, or should form a wrong conjecture, and on the truth being discovered should change its language, supposing that the faith is preserved by which we become Christians, it would be debased by no crime of heresy."

These were dangerous speculations, and would speedily have led any one who adopted them into serious difficulties with the advocates of papal infallibility. Jansenius himself had long foreseen with what hostility his reasoning would be regarded by the most powerful of his brethren. "I dare not," he says in one of his letters, "tell any one what I think, according to the principles of St. Augustine, of a great part of the opinions of these times, and particularly of those respecting grace and predestination, lest that, before things are properly matured, they should do for me at Rome what they have done in the case of others."* But in the last chapter of the third book, "*De Statu puræ Naturæ*," he ventures on the difficult task of reconciling the differences existing between a bull issued on the authority of two pontiffs,† and the doctrines said to have been held by the Church under a long succession of its wisest and holiest rulers. During that period the arguments of Augustine against Pelagius were received as of the highest authority, and were so adopted by the apostolic see, that when any were found fluctuating in their minds as to the faith of the Church, it was accustomed to send them to the writings of Augustine, that they might learn therefrom what to accept and believe.‡

That Jansenius did not err on this point was notorious to those who recollected the controversy between the Dominicans and Jesuits, and what had taken place in the Congregation de Auxiliis. But it was not possible that a mode of reasoning so little calculated to support the

* Letters, p. 32.

† Pius V. and Gregory XIII., in their proceedings against Bajus, the early preceptor of Jansenius, in the Augustine theology.

‡ Augustinus, t. II., lib. III., c. xxii., p. 975.

higher pretensions and prerogatives of the papacy should remain unopposed. The "Augustinus" was scarcely published when the Jesuits began to assail it with all the ingenuity of which they were masters. Nothing was left unsaid that could tend to convince the pope* that his own dignity, the glory of the Church, and the purity of its creed, were endangered by the doctrines of Jansenius. Pressed on all sides to take some step in the matter, he was at length induced to submit the book to the judgment of the Inquisition. Sentence was speedily passed upon it, and the clergy of France and the Netherlands received injunctions neither to read the book, nor to take part in the controversy against it. These orders, however, were openly resisted, and the heads of the University of Louvain boldly replied, that it was a fundamental law of their institution to publish no papal ordinance except by royal command. Another bull was issued the following year, but with as little success. Formal representations were made to Rome that the bull was guilty of condemning doctrines set forth in the very words of Augustine himself. Things continued in this state till the Archduke of Austria received the government of the Netherlands. Aided by his powerful support, the Jesuits succeeded so far as to oblige their opponents to acknowledge the ordinance of the pope. But this obedience was rendered with ill-concealed indignation. Weighty conditions were insisted upon before it was obtained, and the pope had little reason to rejoice in a triumph acquired at the expense of some of his own authority.

It was evident to all parties that more must be done before the struggle could really be brought to an issue. Innocent X. found himself involved in numberless difficulties, the offspring of the prevalent disputes. The questions urged by the doctors of Louvain were far from calculated to lessen his anxieties. Is it, said they, the work of Jansenius, or the doctrine of St. Augustine, that the bull condemns? Habert, a theologian of Paris, and distinguished for his early opposition to Jansenius, gathered out of the "Augustinus" eight propositions, ex-

* Urban VIII.

hibiting, as he represented, the main and most objectionable principles of the author. These were, in substance, first, that nothing is more clearly established by the doctrine of Augustine than this, that there are some commandments of God which even believers, according to their present degree of strength, and even with the readiest will, cannot obey, and that grace is wanting to render such obedience possible. Secondly, that an ignorance, which is not wilful, and is, therefore, unconquerable, may notwithstanding be sinful. Thirdly, that fallen man has received from God a sufficient aid in the understanding both to will and to do. It is ever active; and the notion of an understanding which gives man the power if he will, not the will as to what he can, is the grace of pelagianism. Fourthly, that an intelligent nature cannot preserve its being without the gift of supernatural grace. Fifthly, that unbelievers have no true virtue, and can do nothing without sin. Sixthly, that the character of the Old Testament is figurative and prophetic. It conveyed to the Jews no necessary grace, but rather presented obstacles. Seventhly, that it is as a vast drama, and nothing more. And, lastly, that, according to the doctrine of antiquity, Christ neither died, nor poured out his blood, for all men.

These propositions formed the subject of frequent discussions among the clergy of France. Nicholas Cornet, syndic of the Sorbonne, insisted strongly on the necessity of their being submitted to a formal examination. No fewer than seventy doctors in theology protested against such a proceeding. Their opposition was grounded on the fact, that no author of the propositions was named; that they were capable of a double interpretation; and that it was expressly forbidden, since the Congregation de Auxiliis, to hold discussions on the doctrines of grace.* But this opinion was disregarded; and, though the Parliament prohibited the publication of any conclusions which the theologians might arrive at, they forwarded their appeal to Rome, and besought the pope to instruct them as to the sense in which the first five of the disputed articles ought to be understood.

* Leydecker, lib. II., p. 313.

Innocent did not refuse the request; but he had no sooner resolved to examine the questions proposed to him, than an address arrived from eleven French bishops, entreating him to pause before he entered on an inquiry fraught with so many difficulties. After proving by his hesitation how thoroughly convinced he was of the danger which attended the proceeding, he yielded to the urgent desires of his courtiers and the Jesuits. The discussion was commenced, and five propositions were gathered from the writings of Jansenius, by the condemnation of which his system itself was branded as false and heretical. The first of these celebrated dogmas is the same as the first of those already stated. The second describes internal grace as never resisted, even by those who are fallen. The third represents Jansenius as affirming, that to have merit or demerit in a fallen state, it is not essential that we should be free from necessity, but only from compulsion. In the fourth we read, the semi-pelagians admitted the necessity of an internal preventing grace for every action, even to the beginning of faith. But they were heretics in this; that they represented grace as that which the human will might either resist or obey. Lastly, it is semi-pelagianism to say, that Christ died, or shed his blood for all men.* But evident as was the intention of the Roman court in the condemnation of these propositions, the Jansenists immediately took advantage of the circumstance that the author of their system was not once named in the sentence. Hence arose the celebrated dispute of the *Question of Fact*, as it was called. Men like Pascal, Nicole and Quesnel, now brought all their strength to the controversy. It grew in importance as

* Leydecker : *Vita Jansenii*, lib. II., p. 126. 1. *Aliqua Dei præcepta hominibus justis volentibus et conantibus, secundum præsentēs, quas habent, vires, sunt impossibilia: deest quoque illis gratia, qua possibilia fiant.* 2. *Interiori gratiæ in statu naturæ lapsæ nunquam resistitur.* 3. *Ad merendum (per bona opera) et demerendum (per peccata) in statu naturæ lapsæ, non requiritur in homine libertas a necessitate, sed sufficit libertas a coactione.* 4. *Semi-pelagiani admittebant prævenientis gratiæ interioris necessitatem ad singulos actus, etiam ad initium fidei: et in hoc erant hæretici, quod vellent eam gratiam talem esse, cui posset humana voluntas resistere, vel obtemperare.* 5. *Semi-pelagianum est dicere, Christum pro omnibus omnino hominibus mortuum esse, aut sanguinem fudisse.*

genius and learning employed their treasures to purchase a decision on the side of truth and holiness. But in proportion to the value attached to such a decision was the anxiety of the Roman court increased to secure it in favour of its own party. Alexander VII. at once put an end to the question whether the condemned articles were the constituents of Jansenism. By a bull issued in 1665 they were definitely declared to be so; and shortly after another ordinance was published, which obliged the clergy to confess that they were to be found in the work of the bishop of Ypres as condemned by the bull. The King of France favoured the proceedings of the pontiff; and the prelates of that country were most of them induced to take the same part. A formulary was drawn up in addition to the constitution set forth by the pope, and every thing seemed prepared for the complete subjugation of the French divines to the power of the Jesuits. It was in vain that the Jansenists argued against the intolerance of obliging men to own that as a fact which they did not believe to be so; that they proved the absurdity of representing the pope as infallible in such a case; and insisted with equal piety and eloquence, and even devotion to the Church of Rome itself, on the injury which religion must suffer from condemning as heretical the pure and evangelical doctrine of the blessed Augustine. Controversy, as is commonly the case, when one side is much stronger than the other, soon gave birth to persecution; and the admirers of Jansenius were no sooner a party formed by community of principles than they found themselves bound yet closer by common dangers and sufferings.

It was not, however, in the circumstances attending this dispute concerning grace and free-will that the spirit of the age began originally to employ its strength. In this, as in other periods of religious excitement, we find one effort at development succeeding another, one force for a long time always in advance of another, but the latter, at length, reaching it in the race, and then making with it one great and effectual struggle for victory.

Many years before the publication of the Augus-

tinus, a party had been growing up which, had Jansenius never been known, would have led to a considerable modification of theological science. The monastic system in France had, as in other countries, become infamous for its corruptions. A reformer arose in the person of a young and enthusiastic woman. This was the celebrated Jacqueline Arnauld, La Mère Angelique, who having been appointed, at the age of eight years, abbess of the monastery of Port-Royal, commenced at seventeen the work of reformation, with a zeal as persevering as it was pure and noble. Her sister, Agnes, was only six years old when she became abbess of St. Cyr; nor did she, at a subsequent period, exhibit less readiness than her loftier-minded sister in obeying the call of holiness. Both these extraordinary women were indebted for their early elevation to the interest of their maternal grandfather, M. Marion, Avocat-General. Their father was M. Arnauld, Avocat du Parlement, a man distinguished for great powers of mind and skill in public affairs. La Mère Angelique, as the youthful abbess of Port-Royal was called, became possessed of the full authority belonging to her station on the death of the former abbess. This happened about two years after her first introduction to the monastery; but it was not till her seventeenth year that she experienced those strong religious emotions which gave so remarkable a character to her future career. She was accustomed to trace her conversion to the preaching of a Capuchin friar.* Father Basil, in the course of his wanderings, arrived at the monastery one evening just as they were lighting the torches for complins. He offered to preach, but was told by the abbess that it was too late. She at last, however, consented, and in his discourse the friar treated so powerfully of the incarnation, and of the humiliation and sufferings, of Christ, that La Mère Angelique yielded up her heart entirely to the sentiment of divine love.

From this moment her conduct was wholly changed.

* *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Port-Royal*, t. i., pt. i., p. 24. *Histoire Abrégée de Port-Royal*, t. i., p. 9.

She no longer felt that the rules of her order were a restraint, or that a sense of propriety only was the power, which kept her in the line of duty. Henceforward her performance of the customary services, her temper and conversation, exhibited in the most striking manner the revolution which had taken place in her feelings. The nuns who had hitherto only admired the sweetness of her natural disposition, and felt themselves under no restraint from her presence among them, now began to discover that her rule was not likely to be any longer merely nominal. She commenced the reform of discipline with a loving but determined mind. The first hardship suffered, the first sacrifice made, was on her own part. Hitherto so little seclusion had been practised in the monastery, that the several members of her family had visited her with as much freedom as if the sacred retreat had been her own private mansion. A thousand abuses were the consequence of such a state of things. The change that had taken place in the sentiments of the youthful abbess convinced her that something must be done, at however great an expense. As the day approached for the customary visit of her relatives, she prepared her heart for the trial. The carriage arrived at the gate of the monastery. It had been fast locked by her orders. The loud and violent summons of her impatient father alarmed the nuns, and they surrounded her, weeping and imploring her to relax, at least this time, from her determination to exclude visitors of every kind. But she was inflexible, and, leaving them to indulge their regrets, she proceeded alone to the gate, and there resolutely, but with an almost breaking heart, told her parents of the convictions of duty which had newly awakened her, and of the determination she had formed to begin the work of reform by resigning her own comforts and privileges.

This announcement tended in no wise to pacify either her parents or her brother. They hastened to leave the convent, when the entreaties of the abbess induced her father to enter the only apartment in which it was lawful for her to receive visitors. There the feelings of

parent and child found free vent in sobs and tears. The piety of the abbess at length conquered every other sentiment. M. Arnauld took a last farewell, only sufficiently recovering himself to implore his beloved daughter to refrain from austerities which might destroy her health. He then hastened from the apartment, leaving La Mère Angelique fainting in the arms of her attendants. On returning to the carriage, he described the scene which had taken place. His heart was melted with mingled love and grief. As yet, only anger prevailed in the mind of the mother. She took a passionate and hasty oath that nothing should induce her again to approach the convent. This vow she kept strictly for a year, when she heard a sermon at Paris on the subject of rash oaths, which the preacher proved could not lawfully be kept. Full of joy at the liberty which her conscience hereby gained, she hastened the same afternoon to Port-Royal, fell, transported with delight, into the arms of her astonished daughter, and became, first, a noble benefactor of the convent, and, in her widowhood, one of its most devoted and valuable inmates.*

From this period the career of La Mère Angelique was one of alternate distress and triumph, the efforts which she made to accomplish reform being attended with difficulties sufficient to appal any but minds of the purest kind. The same labours undertaken by different characters produce a very different amount of suffering; for, in the one case, a present reform only may be sought; in the other, the development and establishment of a principle. With the young abbess of Port-Royal the desire of reformation soon became rooted as a bright, glowing idea. To it she wedded her most ardent affections. Its realization became her fondest hope; and she could more easily have parted with existence itself than have yielded her determination to restore female

* On the removal of the society to Paris she purchased a house for its reception at the expense of 24,000 livres. After a noviciate of three years she took the veil, and continued to employ herself through the remainder of her life in the humblest offices of the convent. She superintended the laundry, took part in the work of the kitchen, and always insisted upon giving place to those who had professed at an earlier period than herself. She lived to see six daughters take the veil, and exhibit similar dispositions. *Vies Choiesies des Religieuses de Port-Royal*, p. 39.

asceticism to its antient and better condition. It is this which gives so deep and enduring an interest to the history of Port-Royal; and though the details with which it becomes connected at a later period greatly modify its original character, it will ever continue to be contemplated as furnishing some of the most remarkable exemplifications of personal religion and devotedness.

La Mère Angelique demanded of Marie de Medicis, as a signal instance of favour, that she would make the dignity of abbess in Port-Royal elective. The favour was granted, with some expression of astonishment at such a proof of disinterestedness. By vacating her lucrative and honourable office, Angelique remained free to perform any duty to which she might be called. The bishop of Langres shortly after proposed to institute an order of nuns devoted to the worship of the sacrament. La Mère Angelique was earnestly pressed to become the superintendent of the new society. She consented, and her career was very soon inseparably connected with that of St. Cyran and the Jansenists. La Mère Agnes had composed a little devotional paper on the subject of the sacrament. A copy of the prayer was found in the cell of a Carmelite nun, to whom it had been given by Agnes at her earnest entreaty. The bishop of Langres was delighted with the composition, and sent it to the bishop of Sens, to whom also it at first appeared worthy of admiration, as the ardent breathings of a most holy love. After some little time, however, he began either to doubt its orthodoxy, or to suspect the propriety of allowing such formularies to be circulated without authority. His sentiments were communicated to other prelates; a commotion was soon raised; and thus a new difficulty existed to the restoration of tranquillity. An appeal was at length made to Rome. The pope refused to condemn the pious breathings of La Mère Agnes; but he silenced the loudest voices in the controversy by ordering that her writing should be suppressed.*

St. Cyran, in the meantime, continued to support what he believed to be the highest interests of religion. On the appearance of his celebrated work, *Petrus Au-*

* Memoires, t. i., pt. vi., p. 438.

relius, the excitement occasioned by his previous writings was yet further increased. The Jesuits viewed him as their worst enemy; and, by their machinations, Cardinal Richelieu was persuaded to order his committal to the castle of Vincennes, where he was not liberated till after a confinement of near five years, and only eight months before his death. This happened at a time when the aid of his powerful talents seemed most required for the defence of his associates. La Mère Angelique had long felt a desire to restore the old monastery of Port-Royal in the country. It was now almost a ruin, and its situation was confessedly unhealthy. But there were a thousand associations connected with it that could never cease to inspire her with pleasing and elevating thoughts. Many of her friends shared in these feelings. A little society of devoted persons was soon formed to commence the restoration of Port-Royal des Champs.* One priest only had been left there. He was now joined by several men who were not less distinguished for genius and learning than for piety. They built themselves rude dwellings in the immediate neighbourhood of the monastery; and though, as a part of their discipline, they gave a large portion of time to the roughest work of the field, and spent a life of extreme mortification, they speedily rendered themselves conspicuous, in every country of the world, by the works which they composed, and their singular success in the work of education. But they were known to have adopted the system of Jansenius entire. Dr. Anton Arnauld, the brother of La Mère Angelique, had rendered his name celebrated by a work on the Eucharist, and which, at its publication, received the formal approval of twenty-four doctors of the Sorbonne, and seventeen bishops. But this book, originally so highly sanctioned, was made the subject of a fierce debate on the part of the Jesuits. Its author was, in the end, expelled the Sorbonne. The persecutions to which he was subjected were shared by his friends of Port-Royal and its neighbourhood. When theological hatred had done its worst, political influences were

* *Memoires*, t. 1., p. 599.

made to bear upon the controversy. Neither the amiable sisters of the monastery itself, nor the remarkable men who had devoted themselves to a life of charity and holiness in their vicinity, could be induced to sign the formulary which condemned Jansenius and Augustine. Years of distress and suffering followed. Port-Royal was denounced, and consigned to ruin. The principal Jansenists found a refuge in Holland, and there established a Church, Romanish and Episcopal, and yet in opposition to the papacy and jesuitism.

In the case of Jansenius, St. Cyran, and the high-minded, amiable recluses of Port-Royal, there would be much to excite both sympathy and admiration, though the history which records their proceedings ended with themselves. But they belonged to a class, or, still more, the interests for which they contended were those of the human heart awakened to a sense of its numberless necessities, and taught to believe that they can be supplied only by the wondrous gifts and workings of divine grace. For men of deep feeling there was but a single step to be taken to pass from Jansenism to quietism. The step was taken; and a new scene, so far as circumstances are concerned, presents itself to our regard. We have Molinos, Fenelon,* Madame Guyon, instead of St. Cyran and La Mère Angelique; but the least theoretical of minds can at once discern that the same principles are still in progress of development; and that even when we arrive at the period when quakerism, and other such forms of belief, began to show themselves, there is still but the working of the same power and convictions; the same mighty effort being made by the inner man of man to render itself independent and absolute, pure and free from accidental oppression, and, according to its nature, omnipotent over the world and its corruptions. That

* Fenelon's work in defence of Madame Guyon, and against Bossuet, was entitled *Explication des Maxims des Saints sur la Vie Intérieure*, and appeared in 1697. Molinos died in prison at Rome, in 1696. The ruling principle, and the most offensive in each case, was this, that man's happiness and dignity depend more upon what he is in himself, than upon what he is in, or can gain from, the world. Fenelon's book was formally condemned by Innocent XII., in 1699.

errors were committed in the choice of means for the accomplishment of this object does not alter the fact, that an end, great and noble in itself, was long and fervently sought. It was in most cases missed ; but it was not the less loved because lost ; and it is surely a zeal wanting in charity which strives to persuade us that, when more prosperous in our own struggles, we are free to look scornfully on the mistaken and disappointed labours of our brethren.

CHAP. IX.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.—CONCLUDING REMARKS.

WE devote the space which remains to a cursory view of the most important circumstances connected with the progress of opinion, as before described. In the Roman Catholic Church, the struggles between the popes and the temporal power intervened perpetually to retard the operation of any useful or healthy principle tending to reform. Even in the remotest sphere of missionary labours, the evil was felt as strongly as in Rome itself. The Jesuits had devoted themselves to the defence of the papacy in all its forms and relations. They claimed, in return, the homage of every other order. Their movements were directed by rules essentially political ; and it seems evident, by the common tenor of their history, that whenever one duty appeared to clash with another, the habits in which they had been educated taught them to sacrifice every thing to the rights of the papacy. This was, doubtless, done in most cases from the intermingling of melancholy error with early convictions. No personal interests were dependent upon

the decision to which they commonly arrived; and, had they been left free to support their faith, or even their Church, as such, rarely, it is probable, would they have fallen under the temptations to which they yielded with so desperate a disregard of Christian integrity and truth.

The unhappy dissensions existing among the protestant, or reformed churches, gave a mighty preponderance to Romanism throughout the greater part of the seventeenth century. On the breaking out of the thirty years' war, whatever of religious principle or feeling could exhibit itself in a visible form appeared impatient to take part in the conflict. Victory after victory crowned the plans of the Roman pontiffs. Spain, France, Austria, the Netherlands, and the most conspicuous of the German states, presented the front of a proud confederacy ready to re-assert the supreme and dazzling grandeur of their common Church.

In the midst of the successes which attended the arms of the catholic powers, the most strenuous efforts were made on the part of the clergy to effect the conversion of Lutherans and Calvinists. Their labours were not unfruitful. In France, large numbers of persons forsook the reformed Church. The same took place, even to a greater degree, in the Netherlands; and we have seen that in England itself a strong disposition was manifested on the side of many to silence the customary expressions of hostility to Rome. A sudden check was given to the political triumphs of the catholic party by the valour of Gustavus Adolphus. From this time the reformed Churches began again to breathe with hope, and the rallying of their forces enabled them to consider how they might best, in future times, guard against danger and revolution. But in France, the life of the reformed community was too far gone to be revived, except under the most favourable circumstances. This was readily discovered by the hostile party; and after some little preparation the revocation of the edict of Nantes, in 1685, exposed the few that continued faithful to their profession to all the miseries which tyranny,

both political and ecclesiastical, might desire to inflict.* Yet singular it is, that shortly before these attacks were made on Protestants, Louis XIV. was himself assailing the pretensions of the papacy with equal hardihood and vigour. The kings of France had long claimed the privilege of exercising supreme authority in any see which might fall vacant in their dominions. Innocent XI. resolved, if possible, to destroy this claim. An angry contest took place. The king convened an assembly of bishops and priests; and in this convocation certain propositions were agreed to which left no doubt of the inde-

* "A thousand dreadful blows," says Mr. Saurin, "were struck at our afflicted churches before that which destroyed them; for our enemies, if I may use such an expression, not content with seeing our ruin, endeavoured to taste it." One while, edicts were published against those who, foreseeing the calamities that threatened our churches, and not having power to prevent them, desired only the sad consolation of not being spectators of their ruin. Another while, against those who, through their weakness, had denied their religion, and who, not being able to bear the remorse of their consciences, desired to return to their first profession. One while, our pastors were forbidden to exercise their discipline on those of their flocks who had abjured the truth. Another while, children of seven years of age were allowed to embrace doctrines which the Church of Rome says are not level to the capacities of adults. Now a college was suppressed, and then a church shut up. Sometimes we were forbidden to convert infidels, and sometimes to confirm those in the truth whom we had instructed from their infancy; and our pastors were forbidden to exercise their pastoral office any longer in one place than three years. Sometimes the printing of our books was prohibited, and sometimes those which we had printed were taken away. One while, we were not suffered to preach in a church; and another while, we were punished for preaching on its ruins, and at length we were forbidden to worship God in public at all. Now we were banished; then we were forbidden to quit the kingdom on pain of death. Here we saw the glorious rewards of those who betrayed their religion; and there we beheld those who had the courage to confess it haled to a dungeon, a scaffold or a galley. Here we saw our persecutors drawing on a sledge the dead bodies of those who had expired on the rack. There we beheld a false friar tormenting a dying man, who was terrified on the one hand with the fear of hell if he should apostatize, and on the other with the fear of leaving his children without bread if he should continue in the faith: yonder they were tearing children from their parents, while the tender parents were shedding more tears for the loss of their souls than for that of their bodies or lives."

Again; "They cast some," says Mr. Claude, "into large fires, and took them out when they were half roasted. They hanged others with large ropes under their armpits, and plunged them several times into wells, till they promised to renounce their religion. They tied them like criminals on the rack, and poured wine with a funnel into their mouths, till, being intoxicated, they declared that they consented to turn Catholics. Some they slashed and cut with penknives, some they took by the nose with red-hot tongs, and led them up and down the rooms till they promised to turn Catholics."--*Memoirs of the Reformation in France*, p. 35.

pendence of the Church of France. By the first of these decrees it is affirmed, that neither St. Peter, nor his successors, were endowed by heaven with any right to interfere, either directly or indirectly, with the temporal government of states; and that kings cannot be justly deposed by any bull from Rome. Secondly, that the Gallican Church acknowledges the validity of the canon established by the Council of Constance, declaring that in spiritual things the authority of œcumenical councils is superior to that of the pope. Thirdly, that the laws and institutions of the Church of France are inviolable. And, lastly, that the decisions of the pope, when unsupported by the voice of the Church, are not infallible.

But the activity and power of Rome was in nothing shown so strikingly as in the provision which it made for extensive and distant missions. Gregory XV. had seen, with regret, that much of the good which might have been looked for from the labours of pious men had been lost, through the want of some watchful and directing power. By the advice, therefore, of his chief counsellor, Narni, he determined on instituting a society which should have for its great object the propagation of the faith. Hence the famous congregation, "*De Fide Catholica propaganda*," which began its operations in 1622, but did not assume its proper form till the papacy of Urban VIII., who in 1627 erected the "*Collegium de propaganda Fide*," and had the satisfaction of seeing it immediately endowed by the wealthy prelate, Bap-tista Vives, with revenues proportionable to the grandeur of the plan. The work performed by this institution can never be contemplated without astonishment. Its wonderful provisions for every branch of missionary labour, the variety of ability, the extent of learning brought to bear upon the design, demand the respect of every mind that is capable of separating, in its thoughts, the main features of a magnificent system of machinery from the injury which its operations may cause to some particular interests.

While the "*Collegium de propaganda Fide*" was preparing itself for undertakings that demanded inex-

haustible activity, the Benedictine monks of St. Maur, availing themselves of all the advantages resulting from the reformation of their order, began to lay the most extensive plans for the tranquil pursuit of literature. To the venerable fathers of this society every student of theology owes a large debt of gratitude. Their labours have preserved, in the correctest form, the most precious remains of Christian antiquity; and, whether we consider the prodigious industry which they employed, their admirable judgment and critical knowledge, or the piety which gave life to their exertions, it is our duty to regard them as among the first and noblest contributors to the literary treasures of the Church catholic.

But clearly as these circumstances were demonstrative of the existence of power and energy in various provinces of the Church of Rome, they were evidently confined to matters strictly ecclesiastical. At the very time when the riches and influence of the hierarchy were being employed to promote theological learning, the more general branches of knowledge lay prostrate beneath the darkest influence. There had long been signs of a new life discernible by those who were dwelling perpetually on the mysteries of science. In England, happily, the philosopher was free to proclaim aloud what changes he discovered, what new worlds of truth were dawning upon him as he stood upon his watch-tower. But wherever Rome could exert unlimited sway, he heard himself warned to repress the ardour of his search, or the joy of his new acquisitions. When the friendly intimation was not taken, excommunication from the Church, and the horrors of a dungeon, were the immediate fruits of his genius and temerity.* Gas-

* Galileo was in his 70th year summoned before the Inquisition at Rome, and finally obliged to purchase his liberty at the expense of truth. Bacon says, "It is true that divers great learned men have been heretical whilst they have sought to fly up to the secrets of the Deity by the waxen wings of the senses; and as for the conceit that too much knowledge should incline a man to atheism, and that the ignorance of second causes should make a more devout dependence upon God, who is the first cause, first, it is good to ask the question which Job asked of his friends, 'Will you lie for God, as one man will do for another, to gratify him?' For certain it is that God worketh nothing in nature but by second causes; and if they would have it

sendi and Des Cartes lived under better auspices, and though they laboured at the development of two systems, beginning from opposite points, their powerful intellects gave a common impulse to high and free inquiry. Neither could properly be considered the friend of absolutism in theology or the Church. Gassendi referred for his principles to the knowledge which the senses and positive observation may confer. His great rival, on the other hand, started with the assertion that, at first, we can believe in nothing. However these elements of the two systems might be reconciled to religion by clear and strong-sighted men of piety, with those of inferior capacity, with the popular mind at large, they could only appear in the most hostile form, and did doubtless draw off a vast multitude of men, of every rank and degree, from the service of the Church.

England felt at this time, as much as any country, the dangerous influence of learning and philosophy, ill digested or understood. Hobbes concentrated within himself most of the literary energies as well as notions of his age. Bacon had taught him to inquire and reason; but he had imbibed none of the grandeur, none of the amenities of that great man's spirit. His system tended to deprive mankind of whatever blessings they may derive on earth from just views of temporal government, and of every good which they may look for in heaven as beings spiritual and immortal. The most remarkable feature in Bacon's system, in so far as it had any bearing upon the state of religious feeling or opinion, was its declared hostility to mere traditionary belief.* A visible change in men's habits of thinking

otherwise believed, it is mere imposture, as it were in favour towards God, and nothing else but to offer to the author of truth the unclean sacrifice of a lie."—*Advancement of Learning*, book 1. It was the forgetfulness or contempt of this truth which led to the persecution of the Tuscan sage.

* *Rursus vero homines a progressu in scientiis detinuit, et fere incantavit reverentia antiquitatis, et virorum, qui in philosophia magni habiti sunt, auctoritas, atque deinde consensus. De antiquitate autem opinio, quam homines de ipsa foveant, negligens omnino est, et vix verbo ipsi congrua. Mundi enim senium et grandævitas pro antiquitate vere habenda sunt; quæ temporibus nostris tribui debent, non juniori ætati mundi, qualis apud antiquos fuit. Illa enim ætas, respectu nostri, antiqua et major; respectu mundi ipsius, nova et minor fuit. Atque revera quemadmodum majorem*

followed its establishment. Those who wisely confined their application of his rules to the objects for which they were designed, advanced rapidly in the paths of true philosophy; but others who felt that they had acquired new power and independence of thought, and who yielded to all the proud temptations which thence arose within them, soon lost sight of the real intentions of their master; and most of the second-rate minds which gave themselves up to study soon became more conspicuous for their bold or ingenious arguments on the side of infidelity, than for any success in the cultivation of science or sound literature. Hence England set the most conspicuous example of the association of men of letters with unbelief and irreligion. Toland, Rochester, Shaftesbury, and others, drew away with them hosts of those effeminate minds which the mingled corruptions of revolution, and of the court of a monarch without wisdom or principle, had prepared for every thing that is base.

But ever highly favoured by heaven, continually delivered by the goodness of God from impending ruin, England soon after gave birth to many of the noblest champions that religion and genuine philosophy have at any time known. Locke and Boyle were bound by no ecclesiastical interests to advocate the cause of piety, but they employed the best strength of their minds in its support. In the course of a short time a galaxy of the brightest spirits that ever engaged in such a controversy shone forth on the side of the gospel. But the necessity of defending it against literary men and philosophers tended to give a peculiar character to English theologians. In an age of strife it is dangerous to yield to impulse, or to allow the heart to pour out its thoughts without arrangement, or as the fruit of convictions merely experimental and personal. Yet it is the free-

rerum humanarum notitiam, et maturius judicium, ab homine sene expectamus, quam a juvene, propter experientiam, et rerum, quas vidit, et audivit, et cogitavit, varietatem et copiam; eodem modo et a nostra ætate (si vires suas nosset, et experiri et intendere vellet) majora multo quam a priscis temporibus expectari par est: utpote ætate mundi grandiore, et infinitis experimentis et observationibus aucta et cumulata.—Novum Organum, lib. 1., sec. lxxxiv.

dom of doing this that has in every age constituted the chief happiness of minds equally great and religious. They have ever delighted, and been ready, to speak their first thoughts, to describe their deepest impressions, because it was in them that they experienced most powerfully the presence and workings of the heavenly Spirit. Hence the charm of style, of thought and feeling, in so many of the older divines; hence the almost inimitable simplicity of their profoundest expressions, leading so readily to the conviction, that they were indeed speaking not only truly of, but really in, the kingdom of heaven. All this can be but imperfectly seen in writers who, though full of grace themselves, are perpetually surrounded by declared enemies of the faith. True it is, that even among those whom necessity has driven into long and bitter controversy, some will be found whose few hours of quiet and retired devotion were sufficient to show how ardent a spirit of love reigned within, and prompted the best expression of their thoughts. But, looking at the more striking features of English theology during the period alluded to, it is evident that controversy had a large share in giving them that peculiar and decided character, that sharpness and exactness of outline, for which they are remarkable. Considering the state of the Church and country, not only at the time spoken of, but through subsequent ages, it is a cause of thankfulness that the learning and genius of theologians were subjected to so stern an influence. By the discipline with which they thence became familiar, they were prepared for every species of encounter; and infidelity learnt to tremble at the forces with which the English Church could, at any moment, come forth and repel its attacks. The sacrifice of those graces which belong to periods in which the devout mind may pour out its treasures unopposed, was great and painful. But it was demanded by the character and peculiar dangers of the century; and though we still, perhaps, suffer somewhat from the necessity thus engendered, and feel that the suspicion of peril, perhaps imaginary, often deprives us of the better fruits of genius and erudition, there are many very obvious reasons why we should

rejoice in the staid and circumspect character which still pertains to the more conspicuous divisions of our national theology.

Political changes had throughout the seventeenth century a powerful influence on the state of religious institutions. France and Germany, and Italy itself, afforded ample proofs of this. But in no country was it more evident than in England. The Revolution of 1688, while it delivered both Church and State from immeasurable and untold ills, was necessarily attended with some circumstances not a little distressing to men of high feeling and eminent piety. There were those who could abhor the duplicity of James, who felt no less anxious than others to preserve the Church from the invasions and corruptions of Romanism, but who found it impossible to persuade themselves that the Revolution had freed them from their oath of allegiance to the banished monarch. At the head of these stood Archbishop Sancroft, who, together with the saint-like Kenn, and six other prelates, preferred the surrender of power and dignity to the violation of a supposed duty. A party formed in the strength of such convictions and sacrifices could not but exercise for a time considerable influence. The non-juring clergy had a claim upon the sympathy and respect of their strongest opponents, and it is only to the merciful providence of God that we can ascribe the preservation of the Church from the evils of permanent schism.

The Savoy Conference, in 1661, and the passing of the Act of Uniformity, had inspired dissenters from the Church with feelings of hostility, which it was in vain to hope that time or custom could suppress. William III. gladly availed himself of the power of conciliating so large a body of his subjects. The Act of Toleration, passed soon after his accession, set them free from the oppression against which they had such just cause to complain. But though thus much was done on the side of government to restore tranquillity, it had but partial success. Sects and parties strove against each other with undiminished zeal. Melancholy instances were daily afforded of the horrible fanaticism of antinomian

teachers, of the daring pretensions of others to new lights, and of the weakness and folly of multitudes who allowed themselves to be deluded by their appeals.*

But neither was the Church itself exempt from the agitation of controversy. There were many among the clergy who had been brought up among Presbyterians, and who, however faithful to their profession, could not be induced to regard those who were orthodox in their creed as enemies of religion, or as deserving of the violent censures frequently heaped upon them. These tolerant sentiments were not concealed, and their expression led to disputes, in the course of which some of the latitudinarians doubtless adopted a line of argument which justified their opponents in describing them by so suspicious a title. The existence of two parties in the Church, the one professing Calvinistic and the other Arminian doctrines, has often been spoken of in a tone of surprise. But how little reason there is for astonishment that such should be the case, appears at once from a review of the events which have influenced the state and character of the Church since its reformation. It

* Among those who preserved, amid all the temptations of the day, a pure and earnest morality, the Quakers are eminently conspicuous. They offered, even when under the tyranny of fanatical feelings, an example of clear-sightedness, in respect to common duties and virtues, which might have shamed the most calm and prudent of other religious bodies. Their views were visionary on almost every point. The following is the account given by them of baptism and the communion: "As there is one Lord and one faith, so there is one baptism, which is not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience before God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ. And this baptism is a pure and spiritual thing, to wit, the baptism of the spirit and fire, by which we are buried with him, that, being washed and purged from our sins, we may walk in newness of life, of which the baptism of John was a figure, which was commanded for a time, and not to continue for ever. As to the baptism of infants, it is a mere human tradition, for which no precept or practice is to be found in scripture." Again, concerning the communion: "The communion of the body and blood of Christ is inward and spiritual, which is the participation of his flesh and blood, by which the inward man is daily nourished in the hearts of those in whom Christ dwells; of which things the breaking of bread by Christ with his disciples was a figure, which they even used in the Church for a time who had received the substance, for the cause of the weak, even as abstaining from things strangled, and from blood; the washing one another's feet, and the anointing of the sick with oil; all which are commanded with no less authority and solemnity than the former; yet seeing they are but the shadows of better things, they cease in such as have obtained the substance." George Fox began his work in 1647. In 1685 they had the protection of the court, and were led and taught by the admirable William Penn.

is scarcely conceivable, that, while a vast number of its clergy were from age to age in constant intercourse with the divines of foreign churches, professedly Calvinistic, they should themselves have remained altogether anti-Calvinistic. Equally difficult would it be to understand how their views and sentiments should, even when most predominant, have destroyed the liberty of the rest of the clergy to form their own views of a subject which the Church itself had left in the indefiniteness of its proper mystery. The controversy in which Hoadly, at a somewhat later period, took so remarkable a part, was but the result of notions that had long been fostered among certain members of the Church. With men who had possessed no scholarship, or whose minds had wanted the balance which intercourse with the world gives even to fanaticism, the views of the bishop of Bangor would have assumed a very different form, and led to events of a more deplorable character.

The state of religion on the Continent exhibited most of the features, though less distinctly formed, which distinguished the principal parties in England. In the Lutheran Church the coldness which so often succeeds to extraordinary fervour and activity had prevailed from the beginning of the century. Arndt and Spener re-infused new life into its theology. Then followed the mystic Gottfried Arnold, and other men of the same class, who in due time yielded their place to speculatists of another kind,—to those whose wish it was not to find how deep the waters of divine mysteries are, but how shallow; not how mighty a support revelation may be made to carry the human soul in its flight towards heaven, but how revelation itself may be brought to a level with whatever is common, palpable and earthly. The conflicts between the Lutheran and reformed churches were beheld with grief by moderate men in every country. Meetings were held from time to time, under the auspices of princes anxious to employ their interest and authority for the restoration of peace. The name of Duræus, like those of Calixtus and Matthiæ, will ever remain dear to the lovers of peace. But efforts

both public and private, were alike made in vain ; and a striking instance was added to many others, of the fact, that the only safe way of treating the difficulties attending controversy is to prove to the disputants, not that they are wrong in doctrine, but that they are responsible for all those interests of Christ's Church and people, which depend upon the cultivation of a peaceful and loving spirit. When the symbolical books were allowed to be treated with disregard, no barrier continued to exist against that flood of novelties, and infidel imaginations, which so soon after rushed down upon the German churches. Those of Switzerland, far from preserving the character originally impressed upon them, were not tardy in yielding to the bad influence of the age. The disputes which originated with Amyraut and De la Place, on the subject of original and imputed sin, first shook the faith of many of the Swiss communion in the infallibility of their early doctors. Thus the way was opened for a new mode of treating theological questions. They were no longer referred immediately to some few acknowledged and well-defined principles. Argument, even on the side of truth, will often prove the parent of doubt. The Swiss churches gradually declined in severity of character ; and though the opinions of the innovators were formally condemned, they continued to gain ground, and at last left Geneva with but few and faint traces that Calvin or Beza had ever been.

Connected in profession with Geneva were the churches of the Vaudois. Instead of being tried like so many other religious communities, at this time, by the dangers of prosperity, the inhabitants of the valleys were subjected to the worst terrors of persecution. The duke of Savoy allowed himself to be made the instrument of Rome for the destruction of his subjects. In the year 1655, an order was issued which expelled numerous families from their poor but peaceful homes, and that in the midst of the severity of winter. After various renewals of this attack upon them, another great persecution broke out in the year 1685. From this and subsequent attempts at their destruction, they sought refuge in Switzerland. But the Swiss saw reason to

fear that, by giving shelter to the subjects of the duke of Savoy, they might involve themselves in endless wars. The unfortunate Waldenses were therefore obliged to seek another home; and, after encountering numerous hardships, obtained at length permission to settle themselves in the states of Wurtenburg.

It was during the seventeenth century that the science of biblical criticism began to be understood and valued at its due price. Buxtorf published his *Rabbinical Bible* in 1619, and in the following year his *Tiberias*. The discovery of the Samaritan Pentateuch gave a powerful impulse to the growing taste for this species of learning. Ludovicus Capellus, Erpenius and Morinus entered the field together, and the examination of the Hebrew text became the chief occupation of some of the greatest men of the day. The celebrated *Critica Sacra* of Capellus was published in 1650. It assailed in the strongest manner Buxtorf's belief in the integrity of the received text. An answer was made to this work by the younger Buxtorf, but in too bold a style to be free from considerable errors. These were clearly shown by Walton in his learned *Prolegomena*; and the way was thus prepared for those noble triumphs in biblical criticism of which the Church at large has ever since continued to reap the benefit.*

Greater efforts were made at an earlier period towards multiplying correct copies of the New Testament. But so little was really understood of the methods to be adopted for this purpose, that even the imperfect Elzevir edition did not appear before the year 1624. Walton's Polyglot was published in 1657.† About twenty

* Van der Hooght's Bible was published in 1705 at Amsterdam, Houbigant's at Paris in 1763, and the first volume of Dr. Kennicott's at Oxford in 1776.

† Walton began his work in the midst of the troubles to which the civil wars exposed him and his brethren. Cum igitur munere publico mihi inter Ecclesiæ filios minimo, ut antea fungi non liceret, diu mecum anxieque cogitavi quomodo in tantâ animorum contentione partiumque studiis scissæ et laceratæ Ecclesiæ ita inservire possem ut doctis et piis omnibus gratum, illorum vero censuris qui nobis invitis hac otia fecerunt haud obnoxium aliquid præferrem, quod adversariorum calumnias abstergere qui nomina nostra ut improba ejecerunt, et opprobrium ab Israël tollere posset; cumque omnibus incumbat quos ad sacram militiam evocavit Dominus, ut contra terræ filios et tenebrarum potentiam sacrum oraculorum suorum depositum

years later appeared an edition of the Greek Testament, by Dr. Fell, bishop of Oxford. This presented a number of improvements on every former edition; and the pious editor had sufficient zeal to propose, immediately after, the preparation of another, which should be still more acceptable to the learned. This task he committed to Dr. Mill, from whose time churchmen of every country have become daily more convinced of the inestimable benefit conferred upon them by these early labourers in the field of criticism.

In the interval between the period described in this volume, and that in which we are now living, events have taken place exhibiting by turns the value and the weakness, the comparative security and danger, of the best established principles, and the most powerful institutions. But during the greater part of this interval, churches and sects were contented to enjoy the position they had gained. Whatever of inward life existed in the few, who loved to brood upon the grander objects and purposes of their faith, the generality of men sought no higher meaning in religion, and seemed to take no greater interest in its concerns, than such as might be suggested to their minds by the bare performance of duty, or rendered necessary as a collateral protection of their rights and liberties. So long as an order of men exists, whose peculiar function it is to minister about holy things, the page of ecclesiastical history will never want materials. But the nature of those materials is vastly different in different periods; and, while in some instances the loss of the record of a day would be felt as a misfortune, in others the annals of half a century can scarcely be regarded as adding in anywise to the treasures of experience.

The revival of strong religious sentiments, the re-awakening of slumbering convictions, is generally at-

sartum tectum pro virili tueantur, nihil magis opportunum videbatur quam ad Dei honorem et Ecclesiæ commodum in Sacrorum Codicum textibus authenticis una cum versionibus antiquis ab Ecclesiâ approbatis edendis quantum fieri possit puris et incorruptis operam collocare; præsertim cum non desint qui Verbum Divinum flectunt, torquent, et pro arbitrio corrumpunt, vel in totum rejiciunt, blasphemant, et ut litteram mortuam expolunt impostores nequissimi.—Excerpta e Præfatione.

tended with circumstances calculated to excite suspicion, and render inquiry more than usually necessary. A friend returning after many years of absence may, at first, appear so changed in countenance as to awaken a moment's doubt of his identity. Dispute is therefore almost unavoidably the accompaniment of a new and sudden attention to any long-neglected class of duties. The present age is singularly characterized as making a bold effort, not to introduce systems of its own, or the necessity of which it has itself first perceived, but to try how far it can bow the proud spirit of the world to what it has long been taught, but forgotten, or despised. The connection between many of the events described in these volumes and the movement of our own days may readily be traced.

Some of the principles wrought into the very texture of our institutions will now by many be for the first time recognized. Trees are not planted for the planter but for his posterity. So also may we understand how much is ordered to be done in all things which concern the Church, not for their sakes who do them, but for very distant times. To examine carefully into the extent and nature of our inheritance is an obvious duty. Every age, probably, loses much by its omissions in this respect. The Church of Christ violates its very faith by such neglect. One generation has, at no period, been allowed to labour for itself alone; nor can any generation therefore depend safely upon what it can effect by its own advantages or ability. Yet is there danger in all these things. We are as likely to ascribe too much as too little to the operations and authority of the past. It depends upon the mood of our age whether we incline to the one side or the other. In either case the great corrective must be an appeal to independent truth, and the clear analogies of Christian faith; and private interpretation, however earnest and fascinating, must be submitted to the judgment that is essentially and evidently catholic.

The controversies of different periods have an importance, varying in degree, not merely according to the nature of the subjects disputed, but according to the

state of the community in the midst of which the controversy has arisen. There are times in which questions of highest interest may be started, and excite little attention among the people, and when, consequently, a good deal of bold reasoning may be indulged in, and the combatants on each side may pursue their lines of thought into perilous regions of speculation, without exciting alarm, or, in reality, endangering any thing whatever that depends upon a sober and settled tone of public feeling. But there are seasons when controversy will be dangerous, not simply on account of the delicate nature of the matters discussed, but from the readiness of the popular mind to seize upon every point suggested as furnishing motives for interference with the most sacred mysteries.

Periods characterized as enlightened, periods when knowledge, whether superficial or otherwise, is widely diffused, are eminently those when men of thought and piety will be especially careful not to provoke disputes on sacred themes, lest unhallowed lips should speak of heavenly things. But great controversies, as they are not the offspring of individual conceit, so neither are they under the control of private will or discretion. When once awakened, all that good men can do is to throw into the turbid stream the tranquillizing and sweetening elements of their own earnestness and pure love of truth.

The origin of the religious movement, which at present excites so great an alarm, has been fairly and explicitly stated.* But we must go farther if we would explain how it is that the controversy, commenced by the publication of a few tracts, has assumed a character which renders it by far the most important that this country has witnessed since the dawn of the Reformation. In order to do this, we must consider the state of things, the new order of feeling, commencing near the period at which this history closes. We shall then see that the people were gradually allowed to become unconscious of the existence of an ecclesiastical government, and that the clergy, while apparently ignorant of their functions,

* See Mr. Percival's Collection of Papers.

seemed to want almost every help and stimulant which a church, as such, could render for the encouragement of individual exertion. A political union affords its members a far stronger feeling of common strength, far deeper and more enlivening sentiments, arising from the oneness of the body of which they are parts, and its distinctness from the rest of the world, than did the Church during the sad period of its lassitude and inactivity.

Thus the people finding themselves left to their own will to think and choose what, with every change of mood, they guessed might be right, and the clergy losing continually more and more of the holy sense of communion, there was throughout the land a rampant spirit of sectarianism; of sectarianism not confined to the open separation of those who dissented from the Church's doctrines or discipline, but, which was infinitely worse, exhibiting itself in the pride of the clergy, who practically dared to boast of their independence not less than dissenters themselves, undertaking to determine what they would do and what they would not do, in the very face of the injunctions which they had solemnly promised to obey. To so fearful a degree had this feeling spread, that by far the larger proportion of the order had evidently forgotten for what they had been separated from the world, and according to what principle they were permitted to be partakers of the altar. Thus the clergy themselves became the worst sectarians this country has ever seen. That they upheld a system under which they were provided with a certain revenue; that they readily signed and re-signed the articles, and were never heard to open their mouths against the liturgy; that on all occasions vast numbers might be found prepared to speak largely of orthodoxy and high-church principles, lightens but little the gravamen of the charge. The priests of a false religion, knowing it to be false, would do just the same from habit or interest. But if there be a communion of saints, and if there be one spirit only animating that blessed society, the guilt of sectarianism may evidently be incurred though there be no outward separation. And, again, if there be a church, which is the household of Christ, and the clergy

be ministers of the same, and, therefore, intrusted as stewards with heavenly mysteries, and endowed not merely with authority, but also made partakers of especial grace, and, notwithstanding all this, be found continually in the world, and apart from the household; the very livery of the great Master thrown off; the blessed sympathies of the family lost to their hearts; the holy ties of God's house broken; then are they the very worst of separatists; nor can any species of sectarianism equal theirs in enormity. Nor can there be any fear of our falling into the error, when thus speaking, of charging this guilt on those who only fail in the want of a certain degree of fervour. The offence of the clergy was a visible and palpable one; such a one as every man of common sense might understand without pretending to any acuteness of spiritual vision. It was next to impossible that the absence of a common principle in the feelings and conduct of the clergy, as so many brothers, should be hidden from the world; and surely it was equally impossible that any man, accustomed to turn over the leaves of his prayer-book, should fail to discover, that these ministers of religion had set up their own opinions as to what was expedient, in the place of humbly submitting themselves to the teaching of the Church.

It is quite conceivable that, in cases where the interpretation of a rule rests with the conscience, the application may be so difficult as to deter a benevolent mind from determining the case, lest charity might be injured in the judgment: but the principles and requirements of the Church are so well known, so plainly set forth in a variety of forms, that offences committed against them are not less definable than those of which men may be guilty against the design and laws of temporal institutions.

Numberless proofs exist of this state of the clergy for many years preceding the movement of which we are speaking. The want of a literature springing from and fostered by the Church, is among others a striking illustration of the fact alluded to. There was no subjection of individual characters and tempers to one spirit and rule, and therefore no force, the result of

concentration. The Church, in its days of health, has ever been the nurse of thought, and has brought to perfection more of the products of mind than the world can do with its mightiest efforts, and at the expense of all its intellectual treasures. But what did the Church produce? what minds did it foster? what fruits of gracious inquiry could it show, during the period to which we allude? Throughout almost the whole of that season it enjoyed extraordinary repose; facilities for every species of exertion; but what was done? what was said, or written? There were two societies then in existence, the one opening the way to those whose sympathies might animate them to missionary labours; the other inviting to active exertion those who desired to imbue the minds of their own people with a holy love of knowledge. And what was effected? Let the admirable men who are now working those two great engines of good answer. They are cautious, and charitable towards all of their order, and will not easily be persuaded to say what they think on the subject: but others know, and are not backward to declare, that in these instances as in so many others, there was a plain proof afforded of the want of union among the clergy; of the existence, that is, of a sectarian spirit in the body which, in its state of health, has been found to be capable of producing the noblest fruits of mind, as well as of holiness.

In the midst of this age of languor and wretchedness, men arose, qualified in a remarkable manner for the work which they undertook. The people had fallen into the lowest stage of apathy. Their views of divine truth were without power or vitality; and unless it be supposed that souls are saved, in whatever condition they actually remain, if they be but within reach of the Church's blessing, millions must at this period have been left, by the very negligence of the clergy, in a state of ruin. We have not here to discuss what were the errors of those good men whom God, we doubt not, sent forth with the everlasting gospel to deliver at this time both our Church and nation from impending destruction. That they were guilty of some grievous errors can

hardly be denied; but who else that had seen what they saw, and felt what they felt, would have been guilty of so few?

A change, however, was produced which added another to the many dangers with which our Church had now to contend. That was supplied by eccentric means and channels which the people had for ages been looking for in vain from the Church itself. Nothing hardly could be more absurd than the hope that, by reiterating warnings of the danger of schism, the anxious hearers of the gospel could be brought back to those who had neither preached the gospel, nor shown their respect for the services which the Church itself had enjoined them to perform. There were some who had been hungering and thirsting after knowledge, and could obtain no nourishment, no counsel, no sympathy, no instruction in vital godliness; there were others who wanted something to employ their affections, and give them religious enjoyment even before they could distinctly understand the clear truth itself. The Church in its happier state had well known how to supply all these several claimants on her parental love; but when it failed to do so, and there was even an appearance of a supply from other sources, the common instincts of men's hearts drove them to seek it, and to persevere in their search, however often disappointed or deceived.

It was not at once that the clergy profited by the lesson thus taught them. For a considerable time they proudly insisted on the sin of those who forsook them, but made no effort to correct the abuses which had crept into their system, or to prove their genuine abhorrence of schism by a more spiritual and perfect union between themselves and the Church.

This was not the plan to be pursued. It made things worse. The people began to think that the Church was a word, and nothing more. Instead of seeing the clergy, as a body, returning with humble and penitent zeal to their long-neglected duties, to a real conformity with the positive injunctions, and the spirit of the Church's institutions and provisions for the sanctifying of the

nation, they beheld them occupied almost solely in an anxious, fretful, business-like way about defending their temporal rights and privileges, appearing to be far more troubled at the prospect of what might take place in regard to the wealth of the Church than as to any thing which respected the good of the Church itself.

By God's wonderful grace, it was not thus with all. The melancholy discovery that had been made of the decline of spiritual religion; the startling warnings that had pealed from one end of the kingdom to another, rousing vast multitudes of men of every variety of character, wrought their full effect on the minds of some of the clergy. They wept, as worthy ministers of Christ could not fail to do, over the sins of their brethren. It was impossible to deny that the people had been left untaught; that the sheep and lambs of Christ had been left unfed. And what was now to be done? Was a quarrel to be taken up against those who were everywhere convincing sinners that they were sinners? Were they, who felt the infinite importance of awakening men to a consideration of the gospel, not to employ themselves to the same end? Were they not to be zealous in securing the advantage, already truly gained, though gained by methods not strictly in accordance with many of their views? They had not forgotten the question, "Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment?" and seeing as they did that the life and substance of religion had been allowed to fall a prey to formalism, and to the deceitful notion that to a church reformed and national it could not be said, "I know thy works, that thou hast a name, that thou livest, and art dead:"—Seeing this, they roused all their energies to the supplying of that which they believed to be more immediately required. They saw, that men, as members of the national church, were perishing for lack of the Word of God, faithfully and fully preached; that thousands had forgotten whatever concerned them as members of Christ; that the most awful ignorance or indifference prevailed respecting both redemption and sanctification; and that if the living voices of confession, prayer and thanksgiving, were ever again to be

heard in the Church, the gospel must be first preached with a clearness and force that might prevail, as in earlier times, to arouse men to repentance and a conviction of their peril.

And this was the work which the preachers, called evangelical, nobly undertook, and as nobly persevered in executing. Far different were they in character and conduct from fanatics or mere pretenders to holiness. In their faithful obedience to the heavenly calling, they had to encounter every species of obloquy, and in many respects, the heavier inflictions of persecution. But, by God's grace, they succeeded in convincing the nation, that there were truths in the gospel, which, rightfully acknowledged, might speedily impart new warmth and vigour to the Church; and that while, in the first instance, the conversion of multitudes was effected, in the next, there might be looked for the revival of principles, which no wise or faithful minister of the Church, would willingly see reduced to a mere name or shadow.

It is the common result of great efforts, made in alarming exigencies, that every thing is lost sight of but the single object of immediate interest. If ever this yielding to human infirmity was pardonable, it was so in the case of the evangelical clergy, towards the beginning of this century; for the one object which they allowed to engross their attention, and blind them, for the moment, to other considerations, was of all others the sublimest and the most important.

But, allowing this, we approach a period far from calculated to confirm the hopes that sanguine minds had formed. The deep, fervent spirit of devotion to the gospel remained confined to a few. It did not set on fire the hearts and souls of the clergy at large. There was no general revival. But, sad to say, there seems to have been the formation of a party to which many joined themselves who partook either in no degree, or in a very small one indeed, of the simple, honest, noble devotedness of the earlier evangelical clergy. In some cases it was mere temper; in others, the opportunity of easily securing notoriety: in others, the possession of

ability to preach in a certain tone and manner, that led to the increase of the new school.

And what could be expected from a party thus formed? The leaders in the great religious movement, which had roused men from their slumbers, might be excused for confining themselves to certain main truths. They had yielded, in doing so, to an apparent necessity. The consequences of injuring discipline could not, in their anxious minds, be weighed against those which had followed the long neglect of souls. But their successors were placed in a very different position. They had not the same difficulties to contend with, nor the same overpowering impulses and excitements. There was time given them to prove all things; to consider well what helps were required, besides their own preaching, to the edifying of the body of Christ; and how they might best fulfil their duty in respect both to the Church of which they were ministers, and to the Lord, the head of the Church catholic.

Instead, however, of taking advantage of these their improved circumstances, they still continued to leave out of sight the important fact, that they were organs of a church whose functions are eminently ministerial; and that whatever degree of vigour or power they possessed, it was the peculiar property of the Church. The neglect of this consideration fostered, imperceptibly, a new feeling of independence; permitted the notion of a separation of interests between different classes in the Church; set a premium upon boldness of expression, upon an affected superiority to ordinances, and on whatever could tend to make the clergy feel like separatists, except as they might please, according to their tastes and notions, to enter into new associations among themselves. Many men of undoubted piety and ability were carried away by the fashions of thought and opinion thus created; and the recognition of the Church and its ordinances, and of the importance of the communion, which is its synonyme, became fainter and fainter every day.

At length, to such a fearful extent did error on this

matter begin to prevail, that the mention of the Church in a tone of submission, of affectionate reverence for its dictates, of ready accordance with its positive injunctions, as well as general principles, was regarded as a sign of the want of evangelical faith; of spiritual-mindedness; of the love of Christ; of every thing, in short, which most obviously characterizes a true believer in the gospel. The sacraments shared the fate of the Church, and a felt and acknowledged trust in their efficacy was regarded as still stronger evidence of the absence of what belongs to true conversion.

But the effect of this laxity of feeling respecting Church union, and obedience to its principles, did not cease here. It was natural for the people to conclude that they were at liberty to treat lightly what the clergy themselves but little regarded. The Church itself, therefore, being rarely spoken of; few efforts being made to set forth its glories, its spiritual beauty; the wonderful value of its ordinances, and especially the sacraments, as channels of grace; and still less any attempt to give rightful views of the ministerial functions, their origin and authoritative nature; it was no wonder that the people began to think it of little consequence what teachers they heard, so that they did but feel interested and affected by their discourses.

Hence the way to dissent was prepared by the clergy themselves. Some were satisfied with keeping silence on the many important themes proper for the instruction of people in communion with the Church; others made a show of their indifference to its claims, and almost intimated that they considered themselves and others increasing in spirituality according to their disregard of church government, church rules, church principles, and church ordinances. It was thus almost forced upon the people, that they not only might but ought to leave the Church whenever they unhappily felt a distaste for the preaching of the clergy. There was so little difference, it seemed, between the Church and a sect, that even a very slight degree of superiority in the preaching of a dissenter over that of a church-

man was sufficient to turn the scale in favour of separation.

But while such was the state of things in respect to the evangelical clergy, the views and conduct of those who composed the opposite party in the Church were no less favourable to schism. It is notorious that many of them did, in their preaching, mention, but rarely or coldly, the leading doctrines of the gospel; that though they contended loudly for church supremacy, they acted as if at liberty to set at nought whatever interfered with their own ease or leisure; and that however earnest they pretended to be for the Church's view of the sacraments, they neglected, in the grossest way, to instruct the people as to their real use and efficacy.

Now, if there was grievous error in the conduct of the former party, there was sin of the worst kind in that of the latter. The terms "high church" and "low church" have something in them grossly absurd, when viewed in reference to the conduct of either of these parties. Both were at variance with the Church; both violated their duty towards her; the only difference between them being, that vast numbers of those who professed most zeal for her interests added largely to their measure of guilt, in respect to the Church, by sinning against the gospel itself. This was clearly perceived by those who felt strongly on religious subjects. They could not but shrink with abhorrence from men who, bearing the title of ministers of Christ, neither preached his doctrines nor exhibited the graces of his Spirit. With persons thus feeling, it was an even chance whether they sought out some evangelical preacher in the Church, or, in their deep disgust, plunged at once into the vortex of dissent, rejoicing to get as far as possible from the control of men who seemed so dead to the interests of holiness and humanity.

Unhappily for us, much of the evil has existed up to our own days, and has been kept up in a way, and by instruments, very similar to those seen in its earlier stages. We say, similar, because there has been a slight modification on both sides. The neglect of doctrine, on the one hand, did not continue to be of

that reckless kind which it once was ; the Church, on the other, began occasionally to be mentioned with a tone of affectionateness which gave momentary hopes that her maternal character was becoming better known.

But was it to be supposed that men of thoughtful minds, skilled to observe, and inspired with a generous zeal, would patiently wait the slow growth of conviction in a few, while multitudes were left, and seemed destined to be left, to all the blighting influences of error and disorder? The hour, in fact, had at length arrived when the religious feelings, the learning and powerful sympathies which had been silently fostered among such men, were to burst forth, and find, according to circumstances, what expression they could. To the infinite credit of the University of Oxford, theological studies had imbued most of its members with a sentiment of respect for sacred literature almost peculiar to themselves. It was on this side, therefore, that if any movement should take place in favour of the Church it might be expected to commence. The expectation was natural, and events proved it well founded. An appeal reached the ears of the clergy which startled most of them, because, though founded on truths which ought to have been familiar to them as their mother-tongue, it had from long disuse a novel sound. The threatening aspect of the times, and the manifested indifference of those who ought to have most readily expressed their accordance and their gratitude, combined to provoke a feeling which mingled as a new element in the generous zeal at first awakened. The faithful warning, the brotherly exhortation, the simple exhibition of church principles, now became associated with speculation and controversy ; and more was insisted upon than, even in a very active and vigorous condition of the Church, could have been wisely urged without so much as time being given for the indifferent churchman to consider what he was about.

Nor were the subjects thus hastily brought forward unmixed with matters which it is hardly conceivable that members of the English Church would, at any period, regard in a spirit of complacency. An attack

was, at least seemingly, made on points which it had long been believed it was only necessary to guard against declared enemies. Things were spoken of slightly to which belonged associations that it was painful to find despised; and in some important respects there was a doubt cast upon views of doctrine which most sound, pious and zealous churchmen considered as exhibiting the real sense of the Church's faith.

What then has been the consequence of all this? A movement and a controversy pregnant with the most important results to the religious state of this country. There are many reasons urging even humble and retiring men to take part in the contest. But enough has been related in the preceding narrative to prove, how easily the most valuable endowments may be wasted in dispute, and how still more easily habits may be formed that tend immediately to the fostering of rivalry and schism. And this is more necessary to be observed in an age like ours than in many others. The opposition to the Church, which consists in neglecting or despising its ordinances, is at once discovered; and ardent and ingenuous minds shrink from it as equally base and irreligious. But it is not so, when the tendency is to outstrip the Church in the development and exhibition of opinion. Then the highest class of intellects, the best and purest minds, readily yield to the temptation, and may be led into opposition, or actual sectarianism, in their very affection to the Church, or enthusiasm for its principles.

THE END.

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